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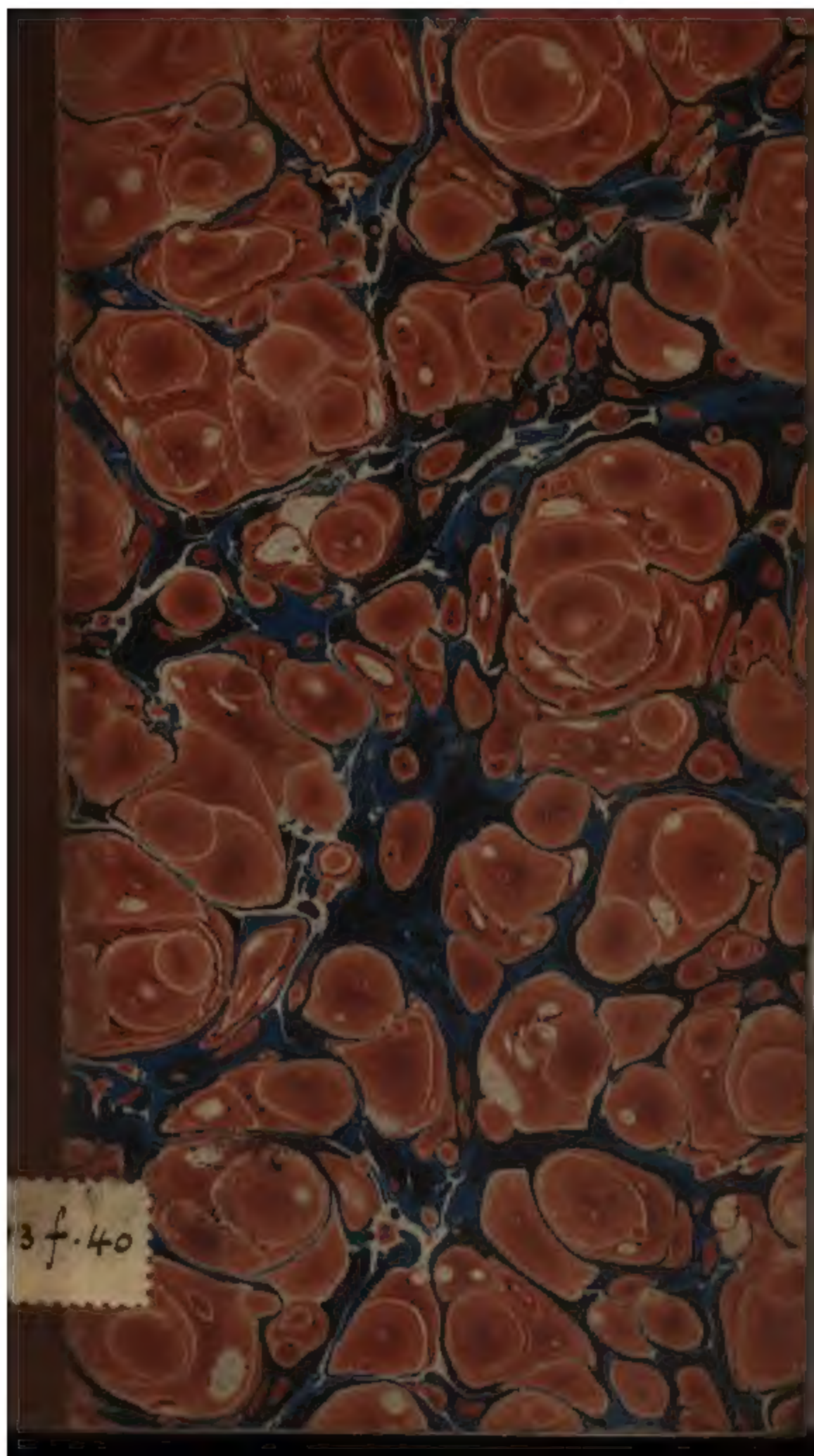
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HERODOTUS.

BOOK I.

CLIO:

TRANSLATED LITERALLY INTO ENGLISH PROSE,

FROM THE

TEXT OF BAEHER.

BY

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“ A translation is but a pale, secondary, inverted iris of the original splendor.”
I. P. F, RICHTER.

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HERODOTUS.—CLIO.

1. THIS publication of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, has been made, with a view to prevent the achievements of men from being effaced by time ; and the great and marvellous exploits, exhibited on the one side by Greeks, and by foreigners on the other, from remaining in obscurity ; and further, the motives for which they made war upon each other. The learned among the Persians, in the first place, assert, that the Phœnicians were the originators of the quarrel ; because, having migrated from the Red Sea, as it is called, to ours, and occupied, at that time, the territory, which they still inhabit, they applied themselves, from the first, to long voyages ; and importing Ægyptian and Assyrian merchandise, traded to other ports, and Argos in particular. Argos at that period was noticeable in every way among the cities of the district now called Greece ; that, when they arrived at the said Argos, the Phœnicians exposed their cargo for sale ; that, on the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when all their stores were nearly disposed of, several other women, and the king's daughter in particular, came down to the sea ; that her name, as the Greeks also assert, was Io, the daughter of Inachus ; that these ladies, standing near the stern, were purchasing such of the merchandise as they fancied most ; then, that the Phœnicians, with mutual exhortations, rushed upon them, and that the greater portion of the women escaped, while Io, with some others, was secured ; and that then, hastily getting them on board, they departed, bound for Egypt.

2. In this manner the Persians, differently from the Greeks, assert that Io reached Egypt, and that such was the first aggression. Subsequently, however, they admit, that some Greeks—for they cannot specify their name—having put in to Tyre, in Phœnicia, effected the abduction of Europa, the king's daughter ;—these were, most probably, Cretans. This they represent to have been

mere retaliation, and that the Greeks were afterwards responsible for the second provocation : for that, sailing in a war-galley to *Æa*, in Colchis, and up the river Phasis, after accomplishing other objects of their expedition, they forcibly bore away thence the king's daughter, Medea ; and the Colchian king, sending a herald to Greece, demanded compensation for the abduction, and the restoration of his daughter ; when they replied, that the other party had not compensated them for the abduction of Io of Argos, and that they would not, therefore, make reparation to the others.

3. They state, that in the second generation following, Alexander, the son of Priam, having heard of this, conceived a desire to obtain by force a Grecian wife, fully convinced that he should never render satisfaction, as the others had not ; and when, under this impression, he had carried off Helen, that the Greeks thought proper, in the first instance, to send ambassadors and demand the restitution of Helen, with compensation for her abduction ; but that, when they urged these demands, the others adduced in reply, the abduction of Medea, observing, “ that without having, themselves, made compensation or surrendered possession at their request, they now required reparation from others.”

4. Up to this period they say, that abductions alone had been mutually committed ; but, that the Greeks thenceforth became aggressors to a serious extent ; because they had gratuitously invaded Asia, previously to their own invasion of Europe : that they regard, in the first place, the forcible abduction of women, to be the act of lawless men ; secondly, an anxiety to avenge their violation, as the act of unwise men ; and an indifference to their abduction, the duty of sensible men ; for it must be evident that, had they not consented to it, they would not have been violated. The Persians assert, that they did not, themselves, pay any regard to the abduction of women from Asia ; while the Greeks, for the sake of a Lacedæmonian lady, raised a large armament, and then, invading Asia, subverted the empire of Priam : that they had, ever from that moment, looked upon the Grecian interest as their enemy ; because the Persians associate with themselves, Asia, and all *foreign nations who inhabit it* ; and consider Europe with *Grecian community to be distinct.*

5. The Persians state their case thus, and trace the origin of the hostility maintained between them and the Greeks to the capture of Troy. With reference to Io, however, the Phœnicians do not concur in this statement with the Persians; for they do not acknowledge having employed any violence in bringing her to Egypt; but, that she carried on an intrigue at Argos with the master of the ship; and, upon discovering that she was pregnant, through fear of her parents, she voluntarily accompanied the Phœnicians to avoid detection.

These are the respective traditions of the Persians and Phœnicians. I do not, however, intend to assert of them, that they are true or otherwise; but, after merely identifying the person, whom I know myself to have been the aggressor in the outrages upon the Greeks, I shall proceed with my narrative, noticing alike the humble and the important communities of men; for of those which were formerly powerful, many have been reduced to insignificance; while these which are conspicuous in my time, had been originally obscure. Aware, therefore, of the inconstancy of human prosperity, I shall impartially chronicle them both.

6. Crœsus was by birth a Lydian, the son of Alyattes, and absolute monarch of the nations on this side of the river Halys, which flows from the South, separating the Syrians and Paphlagonians, and casts its waters into the sea called the Euxine. This Crœsus was the first foreigner, whom we remember to have reduced some of the Greeks to the payment of tribute, and to have attached others to his alliance. The Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians of Asia, he reduced to submission, while he assumed the friendship of the Lacedæmonians; for, before the reign of Crœsus, all the Greeks were independent. Because the invasion of Ionia by the Cimmerians, previous to the time of Crœsus, did not amount to a subversion of the governments, but was merely a prædatory incursion.

7. The monarchy, which had been vested in the Heraclidæ, devolved in the following manner upon the family of Crœsus, called the Mermnadæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and a descendant of Alcæus, the son of Hercules. For Agron, the son of Ninus, who was the son of Belus, who was the son of Alcæus, was the first of the Heracleidæ, that became king.

of Sardis ; and the last was Candaules, the son of Myrsus. The predecessors of Agron in the sovereignty of this country, were the descendants of Lydus, the son of Atys, from whom the whole of this nation, previously called Mæonian, were named Lydian. From these, the Heracleidæ, descended from Hercules and a hand-maid of Jardanus, received the sovereignty in trust, in obedience to an oracle ; and reigned during two-and-twenty generations of men—five hundred and five years—the son receiving the sceptre from the father, down to Candaules, the son of Myrsus.

8. Now, this Candaules was enamoured of his own wife, and, under this impression, believed her to surpass all women in beauty ; and, while possessed by this belief, he had among his guards an especial favourite, Gyges, the son of Daskylus. To this Gyges, Candaules entrusted his most important concerns, and further, exaggerated the beauty of his wife ; and, after a short time—for it was the destiny of Candaules to be unfortunate—he addressed Gyges as follows :—“ Gyges, as I perceive that you do not believe me, when I tell you of my wife’s beauty—and as men’s ears are less convincing than their eyes—you must contrive to behold her naked.” The other, with a loud exclamation, replied—“ My Lord, what shameful proposal is this you utter, desiring me to look upon my mistress naked ? With her clothes, a woman divests herself of modesty also. The maxims of honour have been long established among men, and from these we should learn, that one should look only to his own concerns. I am satisfied, that of all women she is the most beautiful, and I entreat of you not to make this unlawful request.”

9. In such terms did he resist the proposal, apprehending some fatal consequences to himself ; but, the other answered thus : “ Fear nothing, Gyges ; and dread neither me, on the supposition that I speak thus to tempt you ; nor my wife, lest you may suffer any harm from her ; as I shall, from the first, take measures to prevent her suspecting that she has been ever seen by you ; for I shall place you behind the open door in the chamber where we sleep ; and, after I enter, my wife also will come to bed. A chair stands near the door. On this she will place her clothes, one by one, as she takes them off, and *will give you a full opportunity of beholding her : but, when she steps from the chair to the bed, and you are*

behind her, you must then take care, that she may not see you, as you pass through the door."

10. When he found it impossible to escape, he acquiesced; and Candaules, when he thought it was time to retire, introduced Gyges into the chamber; and immediately after, the lady presented herself; and Gyges saw her come in and lay aside her clothes; but, when he stood behind her as she approached the bed, he escaped stealthily, and the lady saw him as he departed. But, understanding what had been done by her husband, she neither uttered any exclamation of shame, nor affected to have noticed it, while she resolved to punish Candaules: for among the Lydians, and almost all other foreigners, it involves a serious disgrace, even for a man to be seen naked.

11. At the moment, therefore, she evinced no emotion, and remained silent; but, as soon as day dawned, having prepared for the event, such of her domestics as she knew to be most attached to herself, she summoned Gyges; and he, not suspecting that she had any knowledge of what had occurred, came when called; for he had been hitherto in the habit of attending, whenever the queen summoned him. When Gyges arrived, the lady spoke thus. "I now give you the choice, Gyges, of two courses which are open to you, to take which you please. You must either slay Candaules, and enjoy me with the sovereignty of the Lydians; or, you must yourself die on the instant, so that you may not again, in your implicit obedience to Candaules, behold what you should not. Either he who has thought of this must perish; or you, who have beheld my nakedness, and violated propriety." Gyges at first listened with amazement to her words, and then besought her not to drive him to the necessity of such a choice; he could not however prevail, and perceived the actual necessity set before him, of either slaying his master, or perishing by the hands of others. He decided, therefore, upon being himself the survivor, and enquired in the following words. "As you urge me against my will to assassinate my master, let me be informed in what manner we are to assault him." "The attack must be made," she continued, "from the same spot, where he exposed my nakedness; and the blow must fall upon him in his sleep."

12. When they had arranged their plans, and wh

night came on—for Gyges was not permitted to depart nor was there any possibility of evasion; but, either he or Candaules must die—he accompanied the lady to her chamber; where, handing him a dagger, she concealed him behind the same door; and then, when Candaules fell asleep, stealing forth, and slaying him, Gyges became possessor both of the lady and the crown. This event, Archilochus of Paros, who lived at that time, has recorded in trimeter iambics.

13. He assumed the sovereignty, and was recognized by the oracle of Delphi: for when the Lydians expressed indignation at the fate of Candaules, and appeared in arms; the partisans of Gyges and the rest of the Lydians, entered into a compromise, that, in case the oracle should declare him to be king of the Lydians, he should retain the crown; but if not, he should render back the monarchy to the Heracleidæ. The oracle, then, did recognize him, and Gyges reigned accordingly. The Pythian priestess, however, predicted thus far, that the vengeance of the Heracleidæ should fall upon the fifth descendant of Gyges; but, of this prophecy the Lydians and their kings took no heed, until it was fulfilled.

14. In this manner, the Mermnadæ having deposed the Heracleidæ, possessed themselves of the sovereign power. Gyges, after ascending the throne, sent many offerings to Delphi; for the greater portion of all the silver offerings at Delphi are his. In addition to the silver, he also dedicated a large quantity of gold; and among the rest—one offering particularly deserving attention—the six golden beakers were dedicated by him. These are deposited in the treasury of the Corinthians, and weigh thirty talents. To speak truly, however, the treasury does not belong to the community of the Corinthians, but to Cypselus the son of Eetion. This Gyges was the first foreigner, with whom we are acquainted, who dedicated offerings at Delphi, after Midas, the son of Gordias, the king of Phrygia; for Midas had already dedicated the regal throne, on which he used to sit to administer justice, and which is a curiosity; and that throne stands in the same place with the beakers of Gyges. All this gold and silver which Gyges dedicated, is called by the Delphians, Gygean, after *the name of the donor*. After he became king, he also *marched an army against Miletus and Smyrna, and took*

the city of Colophon; but, as no other important exploit was achieved during the thirty-eight years of his reign, we shall take leave of him with this notice, and make record of Ardys, the son of Gyges, who succeeded him.

15. He reduced Prienæ and invaded Miletus, and during his reign the Cimmerians, dislodged from their settlements by the Nomad Scythians, descended upon Asia, and took Sardis, except the citadel.

16. When Ardys had reigned forty-nine years, his son Sadyattes succeeded him and reigned twelve years; and Alyattes succeeded Sadyattes. He waged war upon the Medes and Cyaxares, the descendant of Dejoces; and expelled the Cimmerians from Asia, took Smyrna, a colony from Colophon, and invaded Cladsomenæ. From these he returned, not as he expected; but painfully disappointed. He performed, however, while on the throne, these other very memorable actions.

17. He inherited from his father, and maintained the war against the Milesians; for he invaded and assaulted Miletus after the following fashion. When the crops were ripe throughout the country, he used to lead on his troops, and take the field to the music of pipes, harps, and flutes, masculine and feminine; and, when he arrived in Milesia, he would neither raze nor burn the country houses, nor wrench off the doors, but leave them standing in their places. When, however, he had destroyed their trees and crops throughout the country, he returned again; because the Milesians commanded the sea, so that the army could have had no object in beseiging them; and the Lydian king refrained from razing the houses, with this view; that the Milesians may have habitations, whence they may come forth to plant and cultivate their land, and that, as long as they worked, he might have something to devastate when he invaded them.

18. On this principle, he conducted the war for eleven years, in the course of which two serious discomfitures befell the Milesians; in an engagement at Limeneium in their own territory, and on the plain of the Meander. During six of the eleven years, Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, still reigned over the Lydians: the same who then made these incursions into Milesia—for it was he who kindled the war—and during the succeeding five years, Alyattes, the son of Sadyattes prosecuted the war, who—as I have

already observed—inherited from his father, the quarrel to which he so intently devoted himself. None of the Ionians, however, assisted the Milesians in this war, except only the Chians; and they joined in the quarrel, to repay a similar service; because the Milesians had, on a former occasion, aided the Chians in a war against the Erythræans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the corn was being burned by the army, an accident of the following character occurred. As soon as the corn was set on fire, it was fanned by the wind, and caught the temple of Minerva—surnamed Assesia—and the temple taking fire was burned to the ground. No attention was paid to this at the time; but afterwards, on the return of the troops to Sardis, Alyattes fell sick; and, as his illness proved tedious, he sent legates to Delphi, either on the suggestion of some adviser; or because it occurred to himself to send and consult the Deity respecting his indisposition; but, on their arrival at Delphi, the Pythia informed them, that she could make no reply, until they had rebuilt the temple of Minerva which they had burned at Assesus in the Milesian territory.

20. These circumstances I remember to have heard, myself, from the Delphians; and to these the Milesians make the following addition; that Periander, the son of Cypselus, a most intimate friend of Thrasybulus, who was the king of Miletus, when he heard of the reply given to Alyattes, sent a messenger to report it; in order that being prepared for it, he might take measures according to circumstances. Such is the statement of the Milesians.

21. Alyattes, however, when this answer was repeated to him, sent a herald to Miletus, with the intention of making a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians, for such time as he should spend in building the temple. The envoy accordingly arrived at Miletus, when Thrasybulus, fully forewarned of the whole affair, and aware of the intentions of Alyattes, resorted to the following artifice. Having collected into the public square, whatever provisions were in the city—both his own, and the property of private individuals—he issued an order to the Milesians, that when he should give a signal, they should all drink and revel together.

22. This device and proclamation Thrasybulus adopted with this motive; that the Sardinian herald, when he had seen an abundant profusion of provisions, and the people indulging in luxury, may report it to Alyattes; and so it eventuated, for when the herald, after witnessing this exhibition, and delivering to Thrasybulus the message of the Lydian king, returned to Sardis; a reconciliation was effected, as I am informed, for this very cause. For Alyattes, believing that there must be a pressing scarcity of provisions at Miletus, and that the people must be reduced to the most distressing necessity, received from his herald, on his return from Miletus, a report which was the reverse of what he had suspected. A treaty was subsequently concluded between them, on terms of reciprocal intimacy and alliance. Alyattes also built, instead of one, two temples to Minerva at Assesus, and recovered from his disease. Thus fared Alyattes in the war with the Milesians and Thrasybulus.

23. Periander was the son of Cypselus, the same who communicated the response of the oracle to Thrasybulus. Periander was king of Corinth; and the Corinthians relate—and the Lesbians concur in the statement—that a strange miracle occurred during his life: that Arion of Methymna, a minstrel second to none of his cotemporaries, and the first—as far as we know—who composed, designated by its name, and dramatized the dithyrambus in Corinth, was brought on a dolphin's back to Tænarus.

24. They say that this Arion, after residing a long time with Periander, conceived a wish to make a voyage to Italy and Sicily; and after realizing a large fortune, desired to return to Corinth: that he took his departure from Tarentum; and confiding in no other people in preference to Corinthians, he hired a ship belonging to Corinthians: that they conspired at sea to throw Arion overboard and keep his money; and that, becoming aware of this, he resorted to entreaties, offering them his money, and begging for his life: that he could not, however, prevail upon them: but that the sailors commanded him either to take his own life, so that he may be buried on shore; or, to plunge at once into the sea: that Arion, reduced to this extremity, besought them, as such was their resolution, to permit him to stand on the thwarts, in

full costume, and sing; and he undertook, after he had sung, to kill himself; and, as they were pleased at the anticipation of hearing the first minstrel in the world, that they advanced from the stern to the waist of the ship; while he, having dressed himself in full costume, and taken his harp, and standing on the thwarts, recited the Orthian song. When the measure was concluded, he cast himself into the sea, dress and all, as he was, while they sailed on to Corinth. Then a dolphin, they say, took him up, and conveyed him to Tænarus; and that, when he landed, he took his way to Corinth in full costume; and, on his arrival, recounted the whole adventure; that Periander, through suspicion of falsehood, kept Arion in prison, giving him no liberty; and kept a sharp look out for the sailors: that, when they arrived, they were summoned and interrogated if they could give any account of Arion; and, when they replied that he was safe in Italy, and that they had left him in prosperity at Tarentum; that Arion suddenly stood before them, as he was when he leaped overboard; and that, in their terror, they were convicted, and unable to deny the fact. Such is the account of the Corinthians and Lesbians. And, there stands at Tænarus a small monumental statue of Arion—a man seated on a dolphin.

25. Having concluded this war against the Milesians, and reigned fifty-seven years, Alyattes, the Lydian king, died. On recovering from his illness, he dedicated at Delphi—the second of that family who did so—a large silver beaker, and a salver of iron inlaid; a curiosity among all the offerings at Delphi, and the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only artist who had yet invented the inlaying of iron.

26. On the death of Alyattes, his son Cræsus succeeded to the throne at the age of thirty-five years. And the Ephesians were the first among the Greeks with whom he commenced hostilities. Hereupon the Ephesians, when besieged by him, consecrated their city to Diana, connecting the walls with the temple by a rope. Between the old town, which was then invested, and the temple, the distance is seven stadia. On these first, and then, severally in succession, on the Ionian and Æolian states Cræsus *made his attempts*: preferring against each a different

complaint; laying serious charges upon those against whom he could contrive such; and alleging more slender pretences against others.

27. When the Asiatic Greeks were reduced by him to the payment of tribute, he then conceived the design of building a fleet, and attacking the islanders; but, when all was ready for ship-building, some say that Bias of Prienæ—others that Pittacus of Mitylene, having visited Sardis, put a stop to the construction of the fleet, by replying to the king's enquiry if there was any news from Greece: "The Islanders, your Majesty, are enlisting cavalry without number, for the purpose of taking the field against you and Sardis;" that Cræsus, under the impression that he had stated a fact, observed, "May the Gods put it into the heads of the Islanders, to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" When the other replied, "You appear to me, Sire, to wish with all your heart, to catch the islanders on horseback upon the continent: and your wish is natural; but what do you suppose the Islanders prayed for, on hearing of your design to equip a fleet against them, more than to catch the Lydians at sea; that they may punish you for the Greeks who dwell on the continent, whom you keep in slavery?" They add, that Cræsus was much pleased with the observation; and—as he appeared to speak to the purpose—was induced to abandon his ship-building; and accordingly established a friendly understanding with the Ionian islanders.

28. In the course of time, and after the conquest of nearly all the inhabitants on this side the river Halys—for, except the Cilicians and Lycians, Cræsus had been holding all the others in subjection; and these are the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Maryandini, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, the Thracians of Thynia and Bithynia, Karians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians and Pamphylians.

29. When these were subdued, and Cræsus had attached them to the Lydian empire, there came to visit Sardis, which was then at the height of its magnificence, all the other wise men of Greece who lived at that time, on their several occasions; and in particular, Solon the Athenian; who had framed laws for the Athenians at their own request; and went abroad for ten years; ostensibly through curiosity; but really that he may not be obliged to repeat

any of the laws which he had enacted; as the Athenians could not of themselves do so; for they had bound themselves by solemn oaths to the observance for ten years, of such laws as Solon should frame.

30. Having therefore left home, as well for this purpose as for sake of observation, Solon arrived in Ægypt at the court of Amasis and in Sardis to visit Cræsus, and was, on his arrival, entertained at the palace by Cræsus: and on the third or fourth day, by the order of Cræsus, the attendants conducted Solon through the treasury, and shewed him all that was wonderful and costly: and after he had seen and fully examined everything, Cræsus interrogated him as follows, "My Athenian friend; as the great reputation of your wisdom and your travels has reached us—that you have travelled much of the world for philosophic observation—it occurs to me to ask you if you have ever seen one, whom you would call the happiest man in the world." This question he asked, under the impression that he was himself, the happiest of men. Solon however, without any flattery; and speaking candidly, replied. "Tellus, the Athenian, Sire." Surprised at the answer, Cræsus eagerly enquired, "And on what principle do you pronounce Tellus to be the happiest man?" The other replied: "Tellus had, in the first place, during the prosperity of his native country, a beautiful and virtuous family, he saw children born to them all, and all surviving; secondly, after he had lived happily, according to our human estimate, the close of life overtook him with distinction: for after aiding the Athenians in their engagement with their neighbours at Eleusis, and put the enemy to the route, he fell gloriously: and the Athenians celebrated his obsequies with public honours on the spot where he died; and highly respected him."

31. When Solon had awakened an interest in Cræsus regarding Tellus, by recounting many and happy circumstances, he enquired whom he had found next to him, expecting that he should at least hold the second rank; and the other answered, "Cleobis and Biton; for they were Argives by birth, and enjoyed a competent income, and possessed, moreover, physical strength to the following extent:—They were both equally victorious in the games; and this story is told of them: During the festival of Juno ~~among~~ *the Argives*, it was indispensably necessary that

their mother should be conveyed in a chariot to the temple ; but their oxen had not arrived in time from the field ; and the young men, pressed for time, placing themselves under the yoke, drew the chariot, while their mother sat upon it ; and conveyed it forty-five stadia till they reached the temple. When they had done this in presence of the assembly, a death of the happiest character overtook them ; and in their case, the Deity demonstrated, that for man death is a happier lot than life. For, as the Argive men thronging around them, blessed the strength of the youths ; and the women, their mother for possessing such sons ; in her exultation at their exploit and their celebrity, standing before the statue, she prayed that the goddess would bestow upon her sons, Cleobis and Biton, who had highly honoured her, the dearest blessing a human being may attain ; and when, after that prayer, they had shared the sacrifice and the feast, the young men lay down to rest there within the temple, they awoke no more, and in that repose were held for ever. The Argives had their statues—as eminent men—erected and consecrated at Delphi.”

32. To these, then, Solon assigned the second rank of happiness ; and Cræsus, in vexation said, “ Is my happiness then, my Athenian friend, so undervalued by you, that you have not placed us on a level even with private individuals ? ” And he answered : “ you enquire, Cræsus, concerning human fortunes, of me, who know the truly jealous and upsetting disposition of the deity ; for it happens in length of time that one sees and suffers much that he would avoid. Now, I set the limit of man’s existence at seventy years. These seventy years give us twenty-five thousand and two hundred days, not including the intercalary months ; and if one would have every second year, a month longer ; that the seasons may correspond exactly to the regular points ; there come, in addition to the seventy years, thirty-five intercalary months ; and from these months will result one thousand and fifty days—of all these days in seventy years, amounting to twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty ; no one produces any single event identical with that of any other. On this principle, then, Cræsus, man is merely an accident. You now appear to me to enjoy much wealth, and the sovereignty of a numerous people ; but concerning the subje-

of your inquiry, I cannot decide yet; until I ascertain that you have ended your life creditably: for the possessor of excessive wealth is no happier than the owner of a daily competency, unless his fortune attend him through uniform success, to a happy termination of life. For many wealthy men are miserable, while many of moderate means are fortunate. The wealthy man, indeed, in his misery has but two advantages over the fortunate man, while the other has many over the wealthy and unhappy. The one is better able to gratify his desires and to withstand the heavy shock of calamity; but the other surpasses him in this: he has not the same power to indulge his inclination, or to bear with misfortune; but from these his good fortune defends him; for, he is exempt from bodily impotence, from sickness, and from sorrow: he is blessed in his children and comeliness of person; and should he, in addition to this, end his life happily, he is that man whom you seek after: he is entitled to the name of 'happy;' but until he dies, suspend your judgment, and call him not yet happy, but fortunate. All these blessings it is impossible for one human being to combine, as no one country can supply all its own wants; for while it has one thing, it wants another; and that is the most favoured which can supply the largest proportion. Thus, no one human being is independent; for he has one advantage, and needs another. Whoever, then, uniformly enjoys the most of these, and eventually ends his life with satisfaction; that man is, in my opinion, sire, entitled to bear that name; but we should look to the closing scene of every thing, and observe how it ends; for the Deity has shed upon many a passing gleam of happiness, and then cast them uprooted upon the earth."

33. In this conversation with Cræsus, he neither satisfied him; nor did the king judge favourably of him, when taking his leave, considering him to be grossly ignorant, in disregarding the prosperity of the moment, and advising us to observe the end of every thing.

34. After the departure of Solon, the retribution of the Deity fell heavily upon Cræsus; because, in all probability, he regarded himself as the happiest of all men; for, soon after, a vision appeared to him in his sleep, which foreshadowed the reality of the misfortunes destined to happen to his son. Now Cræsus had two sons, one of whom was

afflicted by nature, for he was dumb ; while the other was in every accomplishment, by far the most distinguished of his coevals—his name was Atys. The vision, then, signified to Crœsus that he was to lose this Atys by a wound from an iron blade ; and, when he awoke and recollected himself, alarmed by the dream, he provided a wife for his son ; and never afterwards, though he was accustomed to command the Lydian troops, commissioned him on that service. The javelins also, and lances, and all such weapons as men use in war, he removed from the men's apartments, and stowed away in the seraglio, lest any of them, as it was hanging up, should fall upon the youth.

35. While he was occupied with his son's marriage, there arrived in Sardis a man, under the bann of misfortune, with a stain upon his hands, a native of Phrygia, and a member of the royal family. On his arrival at the palace of Crœsus, he requested, according to local usage, that he might receive expiation. Crœsus performed that ceremony ; and the form of expiation is nearly identical among the Lydians and the Greeks ; but, when he had performed the conventional rites, Crœsus inquired whence and who he was, in the following words : “ Who art thou, man ; and from what place in Phrygia hast thou come to my dwelling ? What man or woman hast thou slain ? ” And the other replied. “ I am the son, sire, of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus. Having accidentally slain my brother, banished by my father, and destitute of everything, I have come to you.” Then Crœsus answered him thus : “ You are the descendant of my friends, and have come to friends ; with them, you shall want for nothing while you sojourn in my kingdom, and you will do best to bear this untoward accident as lightly as you may.” And so he resided with Crœsus.

36. There was, about the same time, a boar of gigantic size on the Mysian Olympus ; and descending from the mountain, it used to devastate the plantations of the Mysians ; and the Mysians, tho' they frequently sallied forth against it, could never hurt it, but used to suffer from its violence. At length, a deputation from the Mysians waited on Crœsus , and addressed him to this effect. “ A boar of the largest size, your majesty, has appeared in our territory, and devastated our plantations, and though anxious to slay it, we are unable. We now, therefore,

entreat of you to send with us your son with a chosen band of youths and some dogs, that we may expel it from our country." Such was their application; but Cræsus, remembering his dream, returned the following answer, "of my son you are to make no further mention; for I cannot send him with you, as he has been lately married, and that engages him at present; but I shall send with you some chosen Lydians, and all the hunting establishment, and commission them to assist you with all diligence, in driving the beast from your country."

37. This was his reply, and while the Mysians expressed their satisfaction at this arrangement, the son of Cræsus, having heard of the request of the Mysians, came in; and as Cræsus had declined sending his son with them, the prince addressed him as follows: "It has been hitherto, my father, my greatest honour and highest ambition to go to the war and the chase, and distinguish myself, but you now keep me secluded from both, without having detected in me either cowardice or apathy; and with what face can I now show myself, as I go to or return from the forum? In what light shall I be regarded by my countrymen? What shall I appear to my lately-married wife? With what sort of husband can she suppose herself to be united? Either permit me, therefore, to go to this hunt, or, convince me by reason that this present course is the more advisable?"

38. Cræsus replied, "It is not, my son, because I have noticed in you either cowardice, or any other discreditable feeling, that I adopt this course; but, a vision which haunted me in my sleep, has predicted that you would be short-lived; for that you were to perish by an iron blade. It was in consequence, therefore, of this vision, that I hastened your present marriage, and refuse sending you on this expedition, to take precautions, as far as I may, to preserve you during my own life. For you are, as it happens, my only son; because I cannot reckon that I have the other, deprived as he is of hearing."

39. The prince replied thus, "It is excusable, indeed, my father, that after seeing such a vision, you should be careful of my safety; but as you do not understand, and have overlooked the import of the dream, I am justified in making a suggestion. You describe the dream as having intimated that I was to fall by an iron blade; but,

what hands, or what iron blade has a boar, that you could possibly dread? Had it predicted that I was to die by a tusk or anything else natural to this animal, it would then be your duty to take the measures which you adopt. Since, therefore, our strife is not with men, give me leave."

40. "My son," replied Cræsus, "you have, in some degree, convinced me, by your interpretation of the dream; under that conviction, therefore, I permit you to proceed to the chase."

41. When he had thus spoken, Cræsus sent for Adrastus, the Phrygian, and when he arrived, addressed him as follows: "I afforded you expiation, Adrastus, and entertained you in my palace, when you were struck down by an ignominious misfortune—with which I do not now upbraid you—and supplied all your expenses. Now, therefore—as you are bound to requite my gratuitous kindness by good services—I require of you to be my son's protector, when he goes to the chase; lest any malignant assassins should encounter you by the way, for evil purposes; and independently of this, it is your duty to go where you may distinguish yourself by your deeds. It is the characteristic of your family, and you are also physically strong."

42. "Sire," replied Adrastus, "I should not, under other circumstances, have gone to this contest; for, it would ill become one visited by such misfortune to associate with his happy coevals; nor indeed, do I feel any inclination, and on many occasions I have refrained; but now, since you desire it, and as it is my duty to gratify you—for I am bound to requite your kindness—I am ready to do so; and rest assured that your son, whom you require me to protect, shall return to you unharmed, as far as his protector can effect it."

43. When he had made this reply to Cræsus, providing themselves with chosen youths and dogs, they departed. When they arrived at Mount Olympus, they went in search of the wild beast; and having found it, and surrounding it on all sides, shot their javelins at it. There, the stranger—the same who had undergone expiation of murder, and was named Adrastus—casting a javelin at the boar, missed it and wounded the son of Cræsus. Slain, at last, by the blade of the lance, he fulfilled the prediction of the dream; and then a man hastened to inform Cræsus

of the event; and arriving at Sardis, acquainted him with the result of the conflict and his son's death.

44. Cræsus, shocked by his son's death, felt it the more intensely, because the man, whom he had, himself, cleansed of the stain of murder, had taken his life; and in the agony of his misfortune, called vehemently upon Jupiter the expiator, to witness what recompense he had received from the stranger. He invoked the same deity by name as the guardian of hospitality and friendship; as the god of hospitality, because, when he received that stranger in his house, he had unconsciously sheltered the slayer of his son; as the genius of friendship, because, though he sent him as a protector, he found him his bitterest enemy.

45. Then came the Lydians bearing the dead body; and after them followed the homicide. Standing before the corpse, he surrendered himself to Cræsus, bidding him, with uplifted hands, to slay him upon the dead body, recounting, at the same time, his former misfortune, and that as he had added to that the murder of his expiator, he had no right to live. When Cræsus heard this, he took pity on Adrastus, notwithstanding his own grievous calamity and said to him: "I have received, stranger, a full satisfaction from you; since you condemn yourself to death; but, it is not you who are accountable to me for this fatal deed, except in having been an unintentional agent; but some one, doubtless, of the Gods, who long ago forewarned me of what was fated to happen." Cræsus performed the obsequies of his son, with all due solemnities; and then Adrastus, the son of Gordias, the son of Midas, after having been the murderer of his own brother, and of his expiator, as soon as there was silence and solitude around the grave, feeling that he was the most heavily afflicted of all men whom he knew, slew himself upon the tomb. Cræsus then continued for two years in the deepest sorrow for the loss of his son.

46. The subsequent reduction of the sovereignty of Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, by Cyrus the son of Cambyses and the rising power of the Persians, aroused Cræsus from his sadness, and prompted him to consider, how he might, if possible, before the Persians should become powerful, arrest the increase of their dominions. In consequence of these reflections, he consulted the oracles as well of Greece

as of Lybia, and sent different messengers respectively, some to Delphi, some to Abæ of the Phocians, some to Dodona: while others were despatched to Amphiaraus, and Trophonius, and to the Branchidæ in Milesia. These are the Grecian oracles which Cræsus sent to consult. He also sent others to Ammon in Lybia, to make inquiries; and he commissioned them in different directions, in order to try what the oracles knew; intending, in case they should be found to know the truth, to send and inquire, if he might hazard an expedition against the Persians.

47. He sent the Lydians to consult these oracles, with the following instructions: to reckon the time from the day of their departure from Sardis; and, on the hundredth day, to inquire of the oracles, how Cræsus the king of the Lydians, and son of Alyattes, was then engaged; and to bring him in writing the responses which the several oracles should give. What answers the other oracles returned, are not anywhere recorded; but, at Delphi, the moment the Lydians entered the temple to consult the God, and proposed the prescribed question, the Pythia replied as follows, in hexameter verse.—“I know the number of the sands, and the dimensions of the sea—I can understand the dumb, and hear the silent—There comes to my perception the savour of the strong-shelled tortoise, boiling in brass with the flesh of a lamb—brass lies beneath and brass covers it.”

48. Having written this response of the Pythia, the Lydians departed for Sardis. And when the others who had been sent in various directions, came with their answers, Cræsus opened them all, and examined the reports. None of these satisfied him; but, on hearing that from Delphi, he venerated and accepted it, convinced, that the Delphian was the only real oracle, because it had succeeded in discovering what he had been doing. For, after he had sent away his envoys to the oracles, observing the appointed day, he hit upon the following device: Resolving to do what it would be impossible either to discover or conjecture, he cut up and boiled together a tortoise and a lamb in a brazen chaldron, and covered them with a brazen lid.

49. Such was the response given to Cræsus at Delphi; but, with regard to the response from the shrine of Amphiaraus, I am unable to say what answer he gave to the Lydians when they performed the customary rites in th

temple, for nothing more is recorded than that he considered that he found this also a true oracle.

50. After this, he propitiated the Deity at Delphi by costly sacrifices; for he sacrificed three thousand animals of all kinds suited for offerings; and erecting a large pyre, burned, at the same time, couches framed with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple robes and garments; believing that he could thus more effectually conciliate the God. He also issued a proclamation to all the Lydians, to sacrifice whatever they could severally afford. When he had concluded this offering, he melted a large quantity of gold, and beat it into half-ingots, making some of them of the greater length of six palms, and others shorter, measuring but three palms; of the thickness of one palm, and one hundred and seventy in number. Four of these were refined gold, and weighed each two talents and a half; and the other half-ingots were alloyed gold, weighing each two talents. He had also the figure of a lion cast of pure gold, and weighing ten talents. This lion, when the temple of Delphi was burned down, fell off the half-ingots,—for it was seated on them—and is now deposited in the treasury of the Corinthians, weighing six talents and a half; for three talents and a half were melted off.

51. When Cræsus had finished all these, he sent them to Delphi, and with them the other following articles: two beakers of large size, of gold and silver respectively; of these, the golden one stood at the right hand as you enter the temple; and the silver one, on the left; but, these also were removed on the burning of the temple; and now, the golden one stands in the Cladsomenian treasury, weighing eight talents and a half, and twelve minæ; and the silver one in a corner of the portico, measuring six hundred amphoræ, for it is used by the Delphians for mixing wine at the Theophania. The Delphians represent it to be the manufacture of Theodorus the Samian, and I think so too. For it appears to be a specimen of no ordinary skill. He likewise sent over four silver tubs, which are standing in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two fonts, respectively of gold and silver. On the golden one appears the inscription "*of the Lacedæmonians*," for they claim the offering; but unjustly; because that among the rest is a present from Cræsus, and some Delphian, with a view to gratify the Lacedæmonians, cut the inscription; his name I

know, but shall not mention. The figure of the boy through whose hand the water flows, is an offering from the Lacedæmonians, but neither of the fonts. With these Cræsus sent several other offerings without inscriptions, and some round silver dishes, with a golden statue of a woman three cubits high, which the Delphians speak of, as the portrait of the female baker of Cræsus. In addition to these he also consecrated his wife's necklaces and girdles.

52. These were his presents to Delphi; but to Amphiaræus—as he had heard of his heroism and misfortunes—he dedicated a shield of solid gold, and a lance likewise of solid gold, both handle and blade. Both these were in Thebes within my memory, and are in the Theban temple of Apollo Ismenius.

53. Cræsus commissioned the Lydians who were to convey these presents to the temples, to inquire of the oracles, whether he might make war upon the Persians, and assume the alliance of any other people: but, when the Lydians had arrived at their destination, and presented their offerings; they consulted the oracles in these words, “Cræsus, king of the Lydians, and other nations, believing these to be the only oracles in the world, has sent you liberal presents for your sagacity, and now inquires of you, whether he might make war upon the Persians and assume the alliance of any people.” This was their inquiry; and the decisions of both oracles exactly coincided, intimating to Cræsus, that if he took the field against the Persians, he should overthrow a mighty empire; and recommended him to discover and acquire the alliance of the most powerful of the Greeks.

54. When Cræsus heard the report of the responses, he was delighted to excess, and in the confident expectation of overthrowing the empire of Cyrus, sent again to Delphi; and, having ascertained their number, presented each of the Delphians with two golden staters. In return for this, the Delphians granted to Cræsus and the Lydians, precedence at the oracle and in the temple, an exemption from dues, and a perpetual privilege, for whoever may desire it, of being naturalized at Delphi.

55. After his liberality to the Delphians, Cræsus, consulted the oracle a third time; for, once he was convinced of the infallibility of the oracle, he became insatiably addicted to it. He submitted the following question,

whether his monarchy should be permanent; and the Pythia replied thus: "When a mule shall become king of the Medes; then, tender-footed Lydian, flee across the pebbly Hermus. Wait not, nor blush to be a coward."

56. With this reply, when it arrived, Cræsus was more than ever gratified, believing that a mule, in place of a man, could never be king of the Medes; and therefore, that neither he nor his descendants could ever be deposed from their sovereignty. He then proceeded to inquire diligently, who were the most powerful of the Greeks, whose alliance he could acquire; and in the course of his inquiry, learned that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were the most distinguished, the former of the Doric, the latter of the Ionic race. These were, indeed, confessedly preeminent, having been originally, the one a Pelasgian; the other a Hellenic tribe. The latter had never yet removed anywhere; while the former were essentially migratory; for, in king Deucalion's time, they occupied the territory of Phthiotis, and in the time of Dorus, the son Hellen, the country around Ossa and Olympus, called Istiœotis; and when they were expelled from Istiœotis by the Cadmeians, they settled in Pindus, and bore the name of Macedonian. From that position they removed again into Dryopis, and from Dryopis, in like manner, coming to Peloponnesus, they took the Doric name.

57. What language the Pelasgi spoke, I cannot exactly determine; but if one may conjecture from the Pelasgi of the present day who inhabit the city of Kreston beyond the Tyrrheni, and were at one time the neighbours of those who are now called Dorians, and then inhabited the country now known as Thessaliotis; and, from the Pelasgi who built Placia and Skylace on the Hellespont—and sojourned among the Athenians—and all the other Pelasgic establishments that have changed their names; if one might deduce any inference from these, the Pelasgi must have spoken some barbarous language. If, then, the whole Pelasgian community did likewise; the Attic nation, Pelasgic as it was, must have changed their language also, upon their conversion into Hellenes. Because, neither the Krestoniats nor the Placieni speak the same language with any of the neighbouring tribes, but a dialect *common to themselves*. And they evidently preserve

unchanged, that peculiarity of language which they brought with them, in their migration to those places.

58. The Hellenic race, on the contrary, from the first moment of their existence, spoke always in my opinion the same language, and although, when they separated from the Pelasgic body, they were insignificant, yet from an originally humble position, they have grown into a mass of several nations, particularly by incorporating with themselves many other uncivilized tribes. And I am further of opinion that the Pelasgic race, still barbarous, never improved their condition.

59. Of these nations, then, Croesus was informed, that the Attic people were suffering under the oppression and persecution of Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, who was then king of the Athenians. To this Hippocrates, then a private individual and a spectator at the Olympic games, a strange portent appeared. For, when he had slain a victim, the chaldrons which were set in order, and filled with flesh and water, boiled up and overflowed without fire. Chilon a Lacedæmonian, who stood by, and beheld the miracle, advised Hippocrates, in the first instance never to marry a woman to bear him children; secondly, if he did happen to be married, to part from his wife; and, in case he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates was not disposed to listen to this advice from Chilon, and accordingly, there was afterwards born to him this same Pisistratus, who, when the Athenians of the coast and those of the plain divided into factions, and when Megacles the son of Alcmeon headed one party, and Lycurgus the son of Aristolaides the other; set his heart upon the sovereignty, and raised a third faction; and assembling his partisans, and ostensibly standing up for the Mountaineers, devised the following scheme:—After wounding himself and his mules, he drove his team into the public square, as though he had escaped from his enemies, who intended apparently to kill him, as he was driving into the country, and entreated the people that he may have a guard, as he had on former occasions distinguished himself in the expedition against the Megareans, by taking Nisæa and performing other creditable exploits. The people of the Athenians being successfully imposed on, permitted him to select some from the citizens, who were to become, not his spear-men, but club-bearers, because they attended him with wooden clubs. These men, then, aiding Pisistrat

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in an insurrection, seized on the citadel, and thereupon Pisistratus became master of the Athenians; but, without deranging the established authorities, or modifying the laws, he governed the city according to the constitution, and conducted his administration wisely and creditably.

60. After some short time, however, the adherents of Megacles and those of Lycurgus, having combined, effected his expulsion, and so, Pisistratus at first possessed himself of Athens; but lost his power before it was yet securely established. Then, the parties who had deposed him, quarrelled anew with each other; and Megacles, worn out by the sedition, proposed terms to Pisistratus, in case he would marry his daughter, for the sovereignty. When Pisistratus had accepted the proposal and agreed to those conditions, they contrived, for the purpose of his restoration, a plan which in my judgment was particularly stupid, inasmuch as the Greek nation has ever been notorious for intelligence, and their aversion to all unmeaning stupidity; and, as they practised this artifice upon the Athenians, who are considered the most intellectual of the Greeks. There was a woman in the Pœanian tribe, whose name was Phya, wanting but three digits of four cubits in stature, and independently of this, beautiful. Having dressed this woman in a suit of armour, and previously instructed her what demeanour to assume, in order to make the most dignified appearance, they drove her into the city, and sent heralds to run before her, who on their arrival in the town, issued a proclamation with which they were entrusted, to the following effect, "O Athenians, receive with good will Pisistratus, whom Minerva, as she honours him most highly among men, brings back, in person, to her own acropolis." These words they repeated in all directions, and the report immediately circulated through the tribes, that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus; and believing, throughout the city, that the woman was the real Goddess, they offered adoration to a human being, and admitted Pisistratus; and having, on the terms of his compact with Megacles, regained his authority, he espoused the daughter of Megacles.

61. But, as he had grown up sons; and as the Alcæonidæ were considered to be under a curse, desiring to have no children by his newly-married wife, he avoided *conjugal intercourse* with her. This treatment the

woman at first concealed; but eventually,—whether in reply to enquiries or otherwise,—revealed it to her mother, and she to her husband. He deeply resented this insult from Pisistratus, and influenced by the indignation which he felt, became reconciled to his political adversaries; while Pisistratus, becoming aware of the measures adopted against him, withdrew altogether from the country, and arriving in Eretria, took counsel with his sons; and as Hippias successfully carried his proposition of recovering the monarchy; they thereupon proceeded to collect contributions from such of the states as owed them any obligation; and though several of these supplied large subsidies, the Thebans were foremost in the liberality of their presents. At length—to speak briefly—time passed on, and all arrangements for the expedition were completed; for Argive mercenaries had arrived from Peloponesus; and a native of Naxos, named Lygdamis, evinced much enthusiasm, by his contributions of money and troops.

62. Issuing from Eretria, after an absence of eleven years, they returned; and the first place in Attica which they seized was Marathon; and while they were encamped in this district, the malcontents from the city, and others from the boroughs, to whom a monarchy was more welcome than freedom, swelled their numbers. In this manner they were assembling; but the Athenians in the city, who, as long as Pisistratus was concentrating his resources, and even afterwards, when he seized Marathon, had been indifferent; now that they heard of his approach from Marathon to the city, at length took the field against him. This party marched against the insurgents with all their forces, at the same time that the followers of Pisistratus arrived at the temple of Minerva Pallenis; and meeting each other, they engaged, hand to hand. There, an Acarnanian prophet, named Amphilytus, under the influence of divine inspiration approached Pisistratus, and advancing towards him, delivered the following prediction in hexameter verse, “the cast is made, and the net is spread, and the tunnies will rush in, in the moon-lit night.”

63. This prophecy, under divine influence, he uttered; and Pisistratus, understanding the prediction, and professing his acceptance of the oracle, led on his troops. *At that hour, the Athenians were engaged at breakfast, and after that, some had betaken themselves to dice, and othe*

to sleep ; and the party of Pisistratus, by a sudden assault, dispersed the Athenians ; and while they were escaping, Pisistratus adopted the following ingenious device, to prevent their rallying, and complete their dispersion. He placed his sons on horseback, and sent them forward ; until, overtaking the fugitives, they addressed them as authorized by Pisistratus, desiring them to fear nothing, and to return to their several homes.

64. On the submission of the Athenians, Pisistratus having thus, for the third time, become master of Athens, firmly planted his authority, by many alliances and pecuniary contributions, partly from home, and partly from the river Strymon ; and, by detaining as hostages the children of those Athenians who had kept their ground and had not immediately escaped, and placing them in Naxos ; for this Island Pisistratus had also subdued in the war, and committed to the care of Lygdamis : and further, by purifying the island of Delos in obedience to the oracle. He performed this purification in the following manner. Having exhumed all the dead bodies from the whole space over which the view from the temple extended, he removed them to another part of the island. Thus Pisistratus established a monarchy over the Athenians ; while some of them had fallen in the battle, and others had fled from home with the son of Alcmaeon.

65. In this position Cræsus understood that the Athenians then were ; and that the Lacedæmonians had emerged from great sufferings, and had just then prevailed over the Tegeans in war. For, under the reign of Leon and Hegesicles in Sparta, the Lacedæmonians, though successful in other wars, had been disappointed against the Tegeans alone. Hitherto they had been the most inefficiently governed of the Greeks, both in their domestic concerns, and their intolerance of foreigners, but were thus reduced to civilization. When Lycurgus, a man of reputation among the Spartans, came to Delphi to consult the oracle, the moment he entered the temple, the Pythia addressed him thus : “ You are come, Lycurgus, to my wealthy shrine, the favourite of Jupiter and all the dwellers on Olympus—I doubt if I shall call thee God or man ; but rather a God, Lycurgus, I believe.” Some persons further assert that the Pythia also dictated to him the constitution *at present existing among the Spartans ; but, according to*

the statement of the Lacedæmonians themselves, Lycurgus when appointed guardian to his nephew Leobotes, king of Sparta, introduced them from Crete. For from the commencement of his guardianship, he reformed their whole jurisprudence, and took precautions against its violation. Lycurgus also subsequently established their military institutions; the *enomotiæ*, the *triebades*, and the *syssitia*; and after these the *ephori* and elders. By these alterations they were reformed, and erecting a temple to Lycurgus after his death, they still hold him in the highest respect.

66. With a genial soil and a numerous population, they grew rapidly and flourished, and were no longer satisfied to enjoy peace; but, conceiving the design of overpowering the Arcadians, consulted the oracle at Delphi, respecting the whole territory of the Arcadians; when the Pythia returned the following response: “dost thou ask of me Arcadia?—thou demandest much!—I shall not give it thee—in Arcadia are many acorn-eating men to prevent thee—yet I do not refuse thee all. I shall give thee to dance upon Tegea, echoing to thy tread, and to measure its goodly plains with a perch.” When the Lacedæmonians heard this answer reported, they refrained from the other Arcadians; but, relying on the ambiguous response, brought fetters with them, and took the field against the Tegeans, as though they were destined to enslave them. Defeated, however, in an engagement, such of them as were captured alive, were sent to labour, wearing the fetters which they had, themselves, brought, and measuring the Tegean plain with a perch; and those same fetters, in which they were bound, were preserved, down to my time, in Tegea, and hung up in the temple of the Alean Minerva.

67. In the former part of the war, they had ever been uniformly unsuccessful against the Tegeans; but, in the time of Croesus, and under the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston in Sparta, they gained an advantage in war, having succeeded by the following means:—Finding themselves invariably defeated by the Tegeans, they sent a deputation to Delphi, and enquired, which of the Gods they were to conciliate, in order to succeed against the Tegeans. The Pythia replied “when they had brought back the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon;” and

as they were unable to find the grave of Orestes, they sent again to ask the Deity in what place Orestes lay; and, when the deputies had submitted this question, the Pythia replied so: "There is a Tegea in Arcadia, on a level plain—there two winds blow under strong compulsion; blow returns blow, and woe is laid on woe—there the generative earth contains the son of Agamemnon—take him with you, and you shall conquer Tegea." When the Lacedæmonians heard this, they were no less distant than before from a discovery, though they searched diligently; until Lichas, one of those Spartans called *Agathoergi*, effected it. Now, these *Agathoergi* are citizens who retire from the cavalry, five in each year, the seniors for the time being. Their duty is, during the year of their retirement from the cavalry service, to employ themselves actively in different directions for the public benefit.

68. Lichas, then, one of that number, made the discovery in Tegea, assisted by an accident and his own sagacity; for, as an intercourse with the Tegeans existed at that time, happening to enter a forge, he was observing the working of iron, and contemplating the process with astonishment; and the smith, observing that he was interested, desisted from his work, and said, "You would be much astonished, I suspect, Laconian stranger, if you had seen what I saw, since you look with wonder upon the forging of iron; for, when I wanted to sink a well in this yard, I found, in digging, a coffin seven cubits long; and, in consequence of my doubts that men were ever taller than at present, I opened it, and found a skeleton of the same length as the coffin; and, when I measured it, I closed it up again." He was merely relating what he had witnessed; but the other, reflecting on the narrative, concluded that, according to the prediction, this must be Orestes; drawing his inference thus:—Perceiving the smith's two bellows, he discovered in them the two winds; in the anvil and sledge, the blow answering to blow; and in the iron which was hammered, the woe laid on woe, concluding thus on the principle, that iron was invented for the injury of man. Putting all this together, and departing to Sparta, he related the whole adventure to the Lacedæmonians; but they, having impeached him under a false pretext, banished him. He then returned to *Tegea*, and relating his misfortune to the smith, proposed to

hire the yard from him, which he refused to let. Eventually, however, when he changed his mind, he took possession of it; and, opening the grave and collecting the bones, returned with them to Sparta. Thenceforth, whenever they encountered each other, the Lacedæmonians had a decided advantage in the war; and, by this time, the greater part of the Peloponesus had been brought under subjection to them.

69. Cræsus, then, in possession of all this information, sent ambassadors to Sparta, to present gifts, and request their alliance; instructing them to speak the following address, which, on their arrival, they delivered thus: "Lacedæmonians, in pursuance of the advice of a Deity, to acquire an alliance in Greece; and, as I understand that you are distinguished among the Greeks, I invite you accordingly, wishing to become your friend and ally, without treachery or reservation." Such was the proposition which Cræsus submitted through his ambassadors; and the Lacedæmonians, who had also heard of the response given to Cræsus, were gratified at the arrival of the Lydians, and exchanged assurances of friendship and alliance; but, even on former occasions, some civilities had been shown them by Cræsus. For the Lacedæmonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, which they required for the statue of Apollo, which now stands at Thornax in Laconia. And Cræsus, though they would have bought it, bestowed it as a compliment.

70. For this reason, and because he had chosen them as allies, in preference to all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians accepted the confederacy. In the first instance, they acceded to his proposal; and, secondly, having made a brazen beaker, measuring three hundred amphoræ, and decorated it with animal figures round the external edge, they presented it for the purpose of repaying the liberality of Cræsus. This beaker, for these two reasons, never reached Sardis: the Lacedæmonians state that, when it reached Samos, on its way to Sardis, the Samians heard of it, and putting to sea in their war gallies, seized it by force. But the Samians themselves represent that, when the Lacedæmonians who conveyed the beaker, were too late and understood that Cræsus and Sardis were taken, they sold it in Samos, and some private individuals purchased and dedicated it at the *temple of Juno*; and after selling it, they probably said

on their return to Sparta, that they had been robbed of it by the Samians.

71. Such was the history of the beaker ; while Crœsus, misunderstanding the oracle, undertook an expedition into Cappadocia, expecting to overthrow Cyrus and the Persian empire. When Crœsus was preparing to take the field against the Persians, a Lydian, who had previously enjoyed a reputation for wisdom, and acquired from his sentiments on this occasion, a celebrity among the Lydians, gave Crœsus the following advice—his name was Sandanis—“ You are preparing, Sire, an expedition against a people of such habits that they wear trowsers and other garments of leather ; and having a barren soil, subsist not upon what they choose, but what they can procure. They also use no wine, but drink water—they have not even figs to eat, nor any other delicacy. Now, in the first place, if you should conquer them, what can you get from them ; and in the next place, if you are defeated, consider what value you must lose ; for, once they taste of our comforts, they will become attached to them, and cannot be driven away. I thank the Gods, therefore, on my part, for not suggesting to the Persians the design of invading the Lydians.” Though he spoke thus, he made no impression upon Crœsus ; and indeed, before the conquest of the Lydians, the Persians knew no luxury or indulgence.

72. The Cappadocians are called Syrians by the Greeks : and these Syrians, previously to the Persian supremacy, were subjects of the Medes, and after that of Cyrus. For, the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires, was the river Halys, which flows from an Armenian mountain through the Cilicians, and then takes its course with the Matieni on the right bank, and the Phrygians on the other. Then, passing by these, and flowing up toward the north, it encloses on that side, the Syrian Cappadocians, and the Paphlagonians on the left ; and, in this manner, the river Halys intersects almost all lower Asia, from the coast opposite Cyprus to the Euxine sea. This is the isthmus of all that country, and the length of the journey would occupy an active man five days.

73. Crœsus undertook this expedition against the Cappadocians for the following reasons : as well from a wish for the territory, which he desired to add to his own realm ;

as, more especially, from a reliance on the oracle and a disposition to punish Cyrus on behalf of Astyages; for Cyrus the son of Cambyses, kept in subjection Astyages the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and brother-in-law of Cræsus, which connection he had formed in the following manner: A company of Nomad Scythians had revolted and retired secretly into the Median territory. At that time Cyaxares the son of Phraortes, who was the son of Dejoces, was king of the Medes, who at first behaved with kindness to those Scythians, as they were suppliants, and valued them so highly that he committed some boys to their care, to learn their language and the bow exercise. In the course of time, however, it happened that, although the Scythians regularly went hunting, and always brought home something, on one occasion they caught nothing; and when they returned empty-handed, Cyaxares—for he was passionate, as he proved on this occasion—received them with very insulting reproaches. And they, on meeting with such reception from Cyaxares, and feeling that they suffered what they had not merited, resorted to the expedient of killing one of the boys under their instruction; and cooking him as they usually dressed venison, to present it to Cyaxares, as if it were game; and when they had so presented it, to withdraw immediately to Sardis, to Alyattes the son of Sadyattes. This was actually done; for, Cyaxares and his guests at the table partook of the flesh; and the Scythians, when they had done it, presented themselves as suppliants to Alyattes.

74. After that event—as Alyattes refused to surrender the Scythians to the demand of Cyaxares—hostilities continued between the Lydians and Medes for five years, during which the Lydians frequently conquered the Medes, and the Medes as frequently defeated the Lydians. Among the rest they fought what may be called a midnight battle; for, while they maintained the war on these equal terms, it happened, in an engagement, during the sixth year, that as the action commenced, the day suddenly became night. This occultation of daylight Thales of Miletus had predicted to the Ionians, specifying the very year in which the eclipse occurred. The Lydians and Medes, observing night coming on in place of day, desisted from the fight, and both parties appeared more anxious that peace should be established between them. The

mediators, who brought them to terms, were Syennesis the Cilician, and Labynetus the Babylonian. They were the parties who expedited the treaty, and effected a matrimonial alliance. For they recommended Alyattes to give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages the son of Cyaxares; because, without some close relationship, compacts are not usually permanent. Those nations conclude their treaties with the same ceremonies as the Greeks; with this addition, that, when they cut their arms through the outer skin, they taste each others blood.

75. This Astyages, then, though he was his maternal grandfather, Cyrus kept in subjection for a cause which I shall explain in the course of my narrative; and Cræsus, resenting this conduct on the part of Cyrus, sent to enquire of the oracle, whether he should go to war with the Persians; and, when an ambiguous reply was returned, interpreting it in his own favour, he invaded the territory of the Persians. But, when Cræsus arrived at the river Halys, he took his army across, as I should say, by the bridges now standing; though according to the general opinion of the Greeks, Thales the Milesian effected a passage for him. For, when Cræsus was at a loss how his troops were to cross the river—as they say that these present bridges were not then in existence—it is stated that Thales, who happened to be in the camp, made the river which flowed on the left of the army, to run also on the right, which he effected thus. Beginning above the camp, he dug a deep canal, shaping it like a crescent; so that it passed behind the camp, pitched as it was, turning in that direction out of its original channel; and again, after passing round the camp, flowed in its usual course; and thus, as soon as the stream was divided, it became passable on both sides. Some persons assert that the old channel was completely drained. This, however, I do not admit; for in that case, how could they have crossed it on their return?

76. When Cræsus passed over with his army, and arrived at a town of Cappadocia called Pteria;—Pteria is the strongest hold of all that country, and is situated close to Sinope on the Euxine—he encamped there, devastating the farms of the Syrians, and took and enslaved the city of the Pterians. He took also, all the neighbouring towns, *and expelled the unoffending inhabitants.* Cyrus then,

collecting his own forces and bringing with him all the inhabitants of the intervening districts, opposed himself to Crœsus; and, before his army set out on their march, sent heralds to the Ionians, and attempted to detach them from Crœsus. The Ionians, however, declined; and, when Cyrus came up, and pitched his camp opposite Crœsus; they proceeded, on the plain of Pteria, to prove each others strength; where, after an obstinate engagement and a considerable loss on both sides, they separated at last, as night fell, without a victory on either side. With this result did the two armies engage.

77. Crœsus, however, dissatisfied with the number of his army—for the troops with which he fought were less numerous than those of Cyrus—dissatisfied at this, and as Cyrus did not come forward on the next day to attack him, he withdrew to Sardis, intending to call upon the Ægyptians, according to treaty—for he had also concluded an alliance with Amasis the Ægyptian king, previously to his compact with the Lacedæmonians—to summon the Babylonians too—for a treaty had been made with them, and Labynetus was then king of the Babylonians—and, to give notice to the Lacedæmonians, to be in attendance at a specified time. When he had assembled all these, and levied his own army, he intended to let the winter pass by, and early in spring, to resume operations against the Persians. With this determination, on arriving at Sardis, he sent heralds to the allied powers, requiring them to meet at Sardis in five months; and then disbanded the entire force, consisting of mercenaries, which was still with him, and had fought with the Persians; never suspecting that Cyrus, after having engaged on terms of such equality would venture to march upon Sardis.

78. While Crœsus was executing these intentions, the whole neighbourhood of the city was infested with snakes; and when these appeared, the horses neglected to feed upon the grass, and went and devoured them. This was considered portentous by Crœsus, as it really was; and he immediately despatched a deputation to the interpreters of the Telmessians; but the deputies, though they came and were informed by the Telmessians of the import of the prodigy, had no opportunity of communicating with Crœsus; for, before they could sail back to Sardis, Crœsus was a captive. The Telmessians explained it thus: “that

the presence of a foreign army within his territory was to be apprehended by Crœsus, and that, when they came, they would subdue the natives; observing, that a serpent was the offspring of the earth, while a horse was an enemy and a stranger." This reply the Telmessians gave to Crœsus, when he was already a prisoner, though they had no knowledge of what had befallen Sardis and Crœsus himself.

79. Cyrus, immediately upon the retreat of Crœsus, after the engagement which took place at Pteria, having ascertained that he intended, on his return, to disband his troops; concluded, on reflection, that it would be his advantage to march with all possible expedition upon Sardis, before the Lydian forces could re-assemble. Having formed this resolution, he executed it at once; for, he led his army into Lydia; and was, himself, the bearer of the intelligence to Crœsus. Thereupon Crœsus, reduced to sore perplexity, as matters had eventuated so differently from his expectations, did, however, lead forth the Lydians to battle; and there was at that time no Asiatic nation more valiant or hardy than the Lydian. Their mode of warfare was on horseback; they carried long lances, and were good horsemen.

80. When they met on the bare and extensive plain which lies before the city of Sardis—several other rivers with the Hyllus intersect it, and fall into the principal stream called the Hermus, which rises in the sacred mountain of the Mother Dindymene, and flows into the sea by the city of Phocœa—then Cyrus, when he saw the Lydians drawn up in battle array, alarmed by the cavalry, adopted the following expedient on the suggestion of Harpagus the Mede. Collecting all the camels that accompanied the army, laden with baggage and provisions, and removing their burdens, he set men upon them, dressed in the equipments of cavalry; and having so arrayed them, ordered them to form the van of the army against the Lydian horsemen; the infantry he ordered to follow the camels; and the cavalry to bring up the rere of the foot soldiers. When they were all arrayed in this form, he gave orders to slay without mercy all the other Lydians as they met them; but not to kill Crœsus, even though he should make resistance when taken. Such were his orders; and he stationed the camels in front of the cavalry

for this reason; that the horse has an antipathy to the camel; and can endure neither to see nor smell it. With this intention, therefore, he devised the expedient, to counteract the efficiency of the cavalry of Cræsus, by which the Lydian hoped to distinguish himself. And so, when they met in the fight, as soon as the horses smelt and saw the camels, they recoiled, and the hopes of Cræsus were frustrated. Still, the Lydians were not dismayed in consequence; but, when they perceived the cause, leaped from their horses, and met the Persians on foot. At length, when numbers had fallen on both sides, the Lydians fled, and enclosing themselves within the ramparts, were besieged by the Persians.

81. Then a blockade commenced, and Cræsus, believing that the siege would continue a considerable time, sent from the city a second deputation to his allies, for his former envoys had required them to meet at Sardis by the fifth month; but he now sent to request their earliest assistance, as Cræsus was besieged.

82. He applied, therefore, to the other allied powers, and the Spartans in particular; but, at this very crisis, a dispute had arisen between the Spartans themselves and the Argives, concerning the territory known as the Thyrean; for the Lacedæmonians had encroached upon, and held possession of this Thyreæ, which really belonged to the dominions of Argolis; and in fact, all the district extending westward as far as Maleæ, with the lands on the continent, and the island of Cythera and other islands, belonged to the Argives. When the Argives came to rescue their alienated possessions, they held a conference, and agreed that three hundred men on each side should take arms; that the plain should become the property of whichever party may be victorious: and, that the main bodies of both armies were to retire to their respective homes, and not remain during the engagement; lest, if the armies were on the spot, either party, seeing their champions under a disadvantage, should assist them. Having made this arrangement, they withdrew, while the chosen men on both sides remained to fight. As they were equally matched in the encounter, there survived out of the six hundred but three men; Alkenor and Chromius of the Argives, and Othryades of the Spartans; and these were yet *alive at nightfall*. Then, the two Argives, considerin

themselves victorious, hastened to Argos, while Othryades the Lacedæmonian stripped the dead bodies of the Argives, and, removing their arms to his own camp, remained at his post. On the following day, both armies returned to learn the result. At first, they both laid claim to the victory, alleging, on the one side, that more of their party had survived; and representing, on the other, that these had fled, while their champion stood his ground, and stripped the dead bodies of the others: but at length, from their altercation they proceeded to a battle; and, after considerable loss on both sides, the Spartans were victorious. From that time, the Argives, who had hitherto, according to established custom, worn long hair, cut off their locks, and passed a law, confirmed by an imprecation, that no Argive should suffer his hair to grow, nor their women wear trinkets, before they should win back Thyreæ, while the Lacedæmonians enacted a law of opposite tendency, to wear long hair thenceforth, though they had not previously done so. They say that Othryades, the sole survivor of the three hundred, feeling ashamed to return to Sparta, after the loss of his fellow-soldiers, slew himself there in Thyreæ.

83. While the affairs of the Spartans were in this position, the Sardinian herald arrived to demand their help for the besieged Cræsus; and the moment they heard the herald, they set out to his assistance; but, when they had just made their preparations, and their ships were ready, further intelligence arrived, that the city of the Lydians had been taken, and Cræsus made prisoner: and accordingly, regarding it as a serious calamity, they desisted. Sardis was taken in the following manner:—

84. When the fourteenth day came after Cræsus was besieged, Cyrus sent round horsemen, and proclaimed throughout the army that he would reward the first man who should scale the wall. When the army had made several attempts, and could not succeed, a Mardian named Hyræades, after the others had abandoned the effort, endeavoured to scale that side of the citadel upon which no guard had been stationed; for they were under no apprehension of its being ever taken in that direction, as the citadel on that side is steep and inaccessible. On that side alone, Meles, a former king of Sardis, omitted to *carry round the lion* to which one of his concubines gave

birth ; for the Telmessians had delared that, if the lion were taken round the ramparts, Sardis would be impregnable. Meles, however, on carrying it round the rest of the walls, where the site of the citadel is assailable, neglected this, as being inaccessible and precipitous. It is that side of the city which looks toward Tmolus. Hyræades, the Mardian, therefore, having observed a Lydian, on the preceding day, descending that side of the citadel, for a helmet which had fallen down, and taking it up with him ; carefully noted and reflected on the event. He then made the ascent himself, and several other Persians after his example ; and when a considerable number had got up, Sardis was taken, and the whole city rifled.

85. The fate of Cræsus himself was as follows :—He had a son to whom I have already alluded, perfect in other respects, but dumb. During his previous prosperity, Cræsus had been essaying all remedies for him ; and among other experiments, sent to Delphi in particular, to consult the oracle upon his case. Whereupon the Pythia returned this reply—“Lydian, monarch of many men, short-sighted Cræsus ! desire not to hear thy son’s longed-for accents sounding through thy palace. Far better for thee that it never happen ; for on a luckless day shall he begin to speak.” When the city was taken, one of the Persians, not recognizing Cræsus, advanced to slay him ; and Cræsus, though he saw him approach, yet, under his present calamity, heeded him not, nor cared to die by his hand. But his voiceless son, when he saw the Persian draw near, through fear and horror burst the fetters of his tongue, and exclaimed, “Man ! slay not Cræsus.” Such were his first words ; and thenceforth he spoke during the remainder of his life.

86. So did the Persians become masters of Sardis, and take Cræsus into captivity, after a reign of fourteen years and a siege of fourteen days ; and having, in the words of the oracle, destroyed his own great empire. When the Persians took him, they brought him before Cyrus ; and he, constructing a large pyre, set Cræsus upon it, bound in fetters, and with him fourteen Lydian youths ; either because he intended to offer these first-fruits to some particular deity, or to perform a vow, or because, as he had heard of the piety of Cræsus, he set him upon the pyre, to ascertain whether any of the Gods would save him from

being burned alive. In this manner, at all events, he acted. But as Cræsus stood upon the pyre, though in that awful position, the maxim of Solon occurred to him, as if spoken under divine inspiration: "that no living man can be called happy;" and, when this memory passed before him, returning to consciousness after long abstraction, he groaned aloud, and thrice called upon Solon. When Cyrus heard him, he commanded the interpreters to enquire of Cræsus whom he was thus invoking; and they approached and asked him. Cræsus at first remained silent under the interrogation; but at length, when urged to speak, said—"that man, with whom I would rather than much treasure that all monarchs should converse." When he replied thus indirectly, they again enquired his meaning; and when they entreated and importuned him, he told them at last; that Solon, who was an Athenian, had formerly come to visit him; and having beheld all his magnificence, looked coldly upon it; explaining how every vicissitude had befallen him, as that man had warned him; though he had made no more particular allusion to himself than to the whole human race, and to those especially, who imagined that they were happy. Such was the explanation given by Cræsus, while the pyre was already kindled, and its edges began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Cræsus had been saying, relented, and reflected that, being himself but a man, he was consigning alive to the flames another human being who had enjoyed no less prosperity than he; fearing retribution also, and remembering that nothing human is permanent, he gave orders immediately to extinguish the kindling fire, and bring down Cræsus and his companions. But notwithstanding their exertions, they could not overcome the fire.

87. Then, as it is stated by the Lydians, Cræsus, having ascertained the repentance of Cyrus, when he saw all the people extinguishing the fire, and unable to subdue it, lifted up his voice and called upon Apollo, if ever any acceptable gift had been offered by him, to come and rescue him from his impending danger; and while he wept and called upon the God, the clouds suddenly rolled up on the calm and clear atmosphere, a tempest burst forth, and rained down an impetuous shower; and the pyre was *ruined*. Cyrus, thus finally convinced that Cræsus

was a favourite of heaven and a virtuous man, brought him down from the pyre, and asked him this question: "Who in the world, Cræsus, induced you to invade my dominions, and become my enemy instead of my friend?" and he replied: "All this, O king, I have done for your success and my own disappointment: for this the God of the Greeks is responsible, who encouraged me to the expedition; for no man is so infatuated as to prefer war to peace; because, in the one sons bury their fathers; and in the other, fathers bury their sons. But, of course, the Gods willed that this should come to pass."

88. This was his reply; and Cyrus set him at liberty, placed him by his side, and treated him with much consideration; which he was himself surprised to see, as were all the others around him. Engaged in meditation, he remained silent; but at length, awakening to attention, and observing the Persians plundering the city of the Lydians, he said: "Should I, O king, tell you what I am now thinking, or hold my peace at present?" Cyrus desired him to speak freely what he pleased, and he then enquired, saying, "Why is this vast multitude so busily engaged in this manner?" The other replied, "they are plundering your city and rifling your treasures." "They are not," returned Cræsus, "plundering either my city or my treasures; for I have no further interest in them; but, they are plundering and removing your property."

89. The reply of Cræsus disconcerted Cyrus; and removing the others, he enquired of Cræsus what course he thought advisable under the circumstances; and he answered, "Since the gods have made me your servant, I feel it a duty to inform you of whatever I see more clearly than you. The Persians are poor, and constitutionally proud. If then, you permit them to plunder and possess themselves of great treasures, you must look for the consequences. Whoever among them shall acquire most, you must anticipate his rising against you in rebellion. Take this course, therefore, if my opinion meets your approbation. Station your guards as sentries at all the gates, and let them intercept the treasure from those who remove it, and inform them that it is necessary that one-tenth be consecrated to Jupiter. You will thus avoid the unpopularity of depriving them of their property, and they, admitting the justice of your acts, will readily acquiesce

90. Cyrus was delighted at receiving this advice, as he thought the suggestion prudent. Expressing much satisfaction, and giving orders to his guards to execute what Cræsus had recommended, he addressed him as follows: "Since you are resolved to act and speak nobly like a king, demand whatever favour you would now receive." And he replied, "My lord, you will oblige me particularly by permitting me to send these fetters, and enquire of the God of the Greeks, whom I have honoured most of all Gods, if it be his custom to deceive his benefactors." Cyrus enquired what he had to complain of, that he made this request; and Cræsus recounted to him all his own intentions, and the responses of the oracles; above all, his offerings, and how he had been encouraged by the prediction to make war upon the Persians; and, while mentioning this, repeated his request that he may be permitted to remonstrate with the god. Cyrus then replied, with a smile, "You shall obtain this from me, Cræsus, and whatever other favour you may at any time require." When Cræsus received this answer, he sent some Lydians to Delphi, to lay his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and ask: "if he were not ashamed of having instigated Cræsus by his predictions to invade the Persians; as though he were to destroy the empire of Cyrus, from which resulted such first-fruits as these;" shewing, at the same time, the fetters: and further to enquire, "if it were the habit of the Grecian Gods to be ungrateful."

91 When the Lydians arrived and delivered their message, it is said that the Pythia made the following reply:—"It is impossible, even for a God, to evade the ordinances of fate, and Cræsus has suffered for the transgressions of his ancestor in the fifth degree, who, being one of the guards of the Heracleidæ, had been tempted, by the treachery of a woman, to assassinate his master, and usurped his dignity, to which he had no claim; and, though the Loxian was anxious that the fall of Sardis should occur under the sons of Cræsus, and not in his own time, yet he was unable to reverse the fates; but, as far as they permitted, he had succeeded in obliging him; for he had suspended the capture of Sardis for three years; and let Cræsus be assured, that he has been made captive so *many years later*; and, besides, he delivered him from *being burned*, With respect to the prediction, however,

he has no reasonable cause of complaint; because the Loxian had warned him, that by making war upon the Persians, he should destroy a great empire; and, in case he intended to adopt a safe course in this matter, he should have sent to enquire, whether he alluded to his own empire or that of Cyrus. As he neither understood the prediction, nor sought information on the subject, he must hold himself accountable. On the last occasion of his consulting the oracle, the Loxian had given him a certain response concerning a mule; and even that he did not understand, for Cyrus was the mule in question; because he was the son of parents of different countries—a mother of high rank, and a father of low degree. The one was a Mede, and the daughter of Astyages, the king of the Medes; while the other was a Persian, and their subject; who, though in every respect subordinate, had married his mistress.” This was the reply which the Pythia addressed to the Lydians, and which they brought back to Sardis and repeated to Cræsus. And when he heard it, he admitted the fault to be his own, and not the Deity’s.

92. Such is the history of the empire of Cræsus, and the first conquest of Ionia. There are in Greece several other offerings of Cræsus, in addition to those already enumerated; for in Bœotian Thebes, there is a golden tripod, which he consecrated to Apollo Ismenius; in Ephesus, there are golden figures of oxen, and several columns; and in the temple of the Pronœia at Delphi, a large golden shield. These were in existence down to my time, though many offerings have been lost. The offerings of Cræsus, in possession of the Milesian Branchidæ, were, as I am informed, similar in weight and fashion to those at Delphi. Now, the offerings at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were of his private property, and the first fruits of his hereditary fortune; but the rest were the produce of the property of an enemy, who had, previously to his accession, been a political rival, and assisted Pantaleon in his claims to the throne. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and a half-brother of Cræsus; for Cræsus was the son of a Carian, and Pantaleon of an Ionian, wife of Alyattes. When Cræsus, in compliance with his father’s bequest, had ascended the throne, he put *his opponent to death, by tearing him with a wool-card: and his property, which he had already devoted,*

consecrated to the purposes, and at the places above mentioned. Of the dedications, this account must be sufficient.

93. The Lydian territory does not, like other countries, supply many interesting subjects for description, except the gold dust washed down from Mount Tmolus. It presents, however, one monument of industry, the most important next to the Ægyptian and Babylonian structures. The monument of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, is there, the basement of which is formed of large stones, and the rest of the monument a mound of earth. The merchants, the artizans, and the courtesans, contributed to its construction; and the five terminal stones were on the summit of the barrow down to my time; and on these were stamped inscriptions, defining what proportion those several classes had contributed; and the work of the courtesans appeared, by measurement, to be the most considerable. For all the daughters of the Lydians, of the lower class, become courtesans, for the purpose of amassing their dowries, and continue that practice until they are married. They then marry at their own discretion. The circumference of the monument is six stadia and two plethra, and its diameter thirteen plethra. Close by the monument, is an extensive lake, which the Lydians represent to be perennial. This is called Gygea; and such is the nature of this structure.

94. The Lydians adopt customs nearly similar to those of the Greeks, except that they abandon their female children to prostitution, and are the first people, so far as we know, who invented and practised the coining of gold and silver. They were also the first shop-keepers. The Lydians assert that the games, at present established among themselves and the Greeks, were their own invention; and, that these inventions originated among them, at the time when they colonized Tyrrhenia, of which event they supply the following account: that, during the reign of Atys the son of Manes, a distressing famine pervaded all Lydia; and the Lydians, for some time, endured it patiently, but, at length, when it continued unmitigated, began to look for a remedy; and every one suggested a different expedient—on that occasion, therefore, were invented the *games of dice, knuckle-bones, ball, and all the others, except chess*; for the Lydians do not claim the invention

of this ; and, as they invented them to beguile their hunger, they pursued the following system : They played during one entire day, that they may feel no want of food ; and, on the next day, they took food and discontinued their play. On this plan they spent eighteen years. When their sufferings abated nothing, but became more insupportable, then the king divided all the Lydians into two parties, and selected by lot one party to remain, and the other to emigrate ; and of that division whose lot it became to remain, he appointed himself king, and of the emigrants, his own son, named Tyrrhenus. That party, whose chance it was to leave the country, went down to Smyrna and built gallies, on which they embarked whatever moveable property of any value they possessed, and set sail in quest of a livelihood and a habitation, until, after passing many nations on their way, they came to the Umbrians, where they built cities and have resided to this day. Instead of the Lydian name they assumed that of the prince who led them ; calling themselves, after him, by the name of Tyrrheni.

95. The Lydians were now under subjection to the Persians, and my narrative proceeds from this point to inquire who Cyrus was, that reduced the empire of Croesus ; and, how the Persians acquired supremacy in Asia. I shall write, then, in accordance with the statements of that class of Persians, who do not intend to exaggerate the exploits of Cyrus, but to record the truth ; though I am aware of three other versions of the history of Cyrus. When the Assyrians had enjoyed the sovereignty of Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years, the Medes were the first who revolted from them ; and they, as it happened, proved themselves valiant men in their struggle for freedom with the Assyrians ; and, casting off their slavery, became free. After them, other nations also followed the example of the Medes.

96. After they had all become independent throughout the Continent, they were once more reduced to an absolute monarchy in the following manner. There was amongst the Medes a wise man, whose name was Dejoces, the son of Phraortes. This Dejoces, becoming ambitious of absolute power, adopted the following expedient : As the Medes resided in separate villages, having already gained a high reputation in his own, he applied himself more

zealously still to the practice of justice ; and this he did, because violence prevailed to a wide extent through all Media, knowing that injustice is incompatible with right. Now, the Medes of that village, observing his character, elected him as their own judge ; and he, as he ever kept the sovereignty in view, continued to be upright and just. By this line of conduct, he acquired considerable celebrity among his fellow-citizens, to such an extent that the inhabitants of the other villages, ascertaining that Dejoces was the only man who decided impartially, and having hitherto met with unjust decisions, gladly applied to Dejoces, when they heard of him, to avail themselves of his tribunal ; and at last would confide in no other.

97. The number of applicants continually increasing, since they understood that his decisions were justly given ; Dejoces, finding the whole duty devolving upon himself, would no longer consent to sit, where he had usually taken his seat to administer justice ; and declared that he would act as judge no longer, as it was not his interest to neglect his own affairs for the purpose of adjusting the quarrels of his neighbours. When outrage and violence, therefore, became more general than before through all the villages, the Medes assembled and held a conference respecting their present circumstances. The friends of Dejoces, however, as I should suppose, were the principal speakers. “ It is impossible that, under the present system, we can inhabit the country. Come then, let us appoint one of ourselves as king. By this means the country will be civilized, and we shall devote ourselves to our business, and not be upset by anarchy.” By words of this tendency they induced each other to institute a monarchy.

98. As they proceeded at once to select the individual whom they should appoint as king, Dejoces was so decidedly preferred and recommended by all parties, that they approved of his ascending the throne. He then required them to build him a palace in a style suitable to the monarchy, and to defend his person with a guard. This the Medes performed, for they erected a strong and extensive palace on the site which he selected, and authorized him to choose his guards from all the Medes. Now, that he was invested with authority, he compelled the Medes to *build one city, and in the decoration of that to neglect all other places, and, when the Medes consented to this, he*

built a large and impregnable fortress—the same which is now called Agbatana—in successive circles, one within another. This fortress is so contrived that each circle rises higher than the external one, by the battlements only. The form of the ground, which is an acclivity, facilitates this arrangement to some extent: but, what was more particularly attended to was, that, as there are seven circles, the palace and the treasury are situated inside the inmost. The largest of these walls is about equal in extent to the circumference of Athens. The battlements of the outer circle are white; of the next, black; of the third, purple; of the fourth, blue; and of the fifth, vermillion. In this way the battlements of all the circles are stained with various colours: and the two inmost have their battlements plated, the one with gold; the other with silver.

99. When all the buildings were completed, Dejoces was the first who enforced the following ceremonies: that nobody should have access to the king; that every one should consult him by messengers; that the king should be seen by nobody; and, above all, that it should be considered indecorous for any body to laugh or spit in his presence. These observances towards himself he exacted for this purpose: that his coevals, who had been educated with him, were of equal respectability, and nowise inferior in merit, may feel no jealousy, nor combine against him; but that, while they did not see him, he may appear a different being.

100. When he had established these regulations and confirmed his authority, he became strict in the administration of justice. They used to submit to him their cases in writing, and when he had decided them, so laid before him, he sent them back; and, while he adopted this course respecting litigation, other reforms also were effected. If he could ascertain that any man had offended; when he summoned him to appear, he would punish him in proportion to his guilt; and he employed spies and detectives throughout the whole extent of his dominions.

101. Dejoces, as I have stated, concentrated all the Medes into one community; and ruled over them in that form. The tribes of the Medes are the following: the Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Aridsanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

102. These are the tribes of the Medes. Dejoces had a son, named Phraortes, who, on the death of Dejoces, after a reign of fifty-three years, succeeded to the throne ; and, after his accession, was not content with the mere sovereignty of the Medes ; but undertook an expedition against the Persians, and attacking them first, brought them under subjection to the Medes. After that, when master of these two nations—both powerful—he reduced all Asia ; invading successively nation after nation, until, taking the field against the Assyrians, and that portion of them especially who inhabited Nineveh, and had previously enjoyed supreme power, but, though otherwise prosperous, were then forsaken by the revolt of their allies—against these Phraortes having commenced hostilities, perished, after a reign of twenty-two years, with the greater portion of his army.

103. On the death of Phraortes, Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, who was the son of Dejoces, succeeded him. He is represented to have been more warlike than his ancestors, and first divided the Asiatics into regiments. He was also the first who arranged spearmen, bowmen, and cavalry in separate divisions ; for, before his time, they were all indiscriminately mingled. It was he who fought with the Lydians, when day became night during the engagement ; and centralised under his controul all Asia north of the Halys. When he had collected all his subjects, he took the field against Nineveh, for the purpose of avenging his father, and taking that city ; and when, after defeating the Assyrians in battle, he had laid siege to Nineveh, a numerous host of Scythians descended upon him, whose leader was the Scythian King Madyas, the son of Protothyas. These people had invaded Asia, after expelling the Cimmerians from Europe, and by following the latter in their flight, thus arrived in Media.

104. The distance from the Lake Mæotis to the River Phasis and Colchis is a thirty days' journey for an active man, and the journey from Colchis into Media is not long, for between them there lies but one nation, the Saspeires ; and when one passes through these he arrives in Media. The Scythians did not, however, make their entrance by this route, but took the upper road, which is considerably longer, keeping the Caucasian mountains on the right.

There the Medes, engaging with the Scythians, and being defeated in battle, lost their power, and the Scythians overran all Asia.

105. Thence they directed their course to Ægypt, and when they arrived at Palestine in Syria, Psammitichus, the king of Ægypt, met them, and dissuaded them by presents and entreaties, from proceeding further. When, on their way back, they arrived at the city of Askalon in Syria, though the greater number passed through inoffensively, some few, who remained behind, plundered the temple of the Celestial Venus. This temple, as I have ascertained upon inquiry, is the most ancient of all the temples of that Goddess; for even the temple in Cyprus—as the Cyprians themselves admit—was built subsequently; and it was the Phœnicians, who emigrated from that part of Syria, that built the temple of Cytherea. On the Scythians, who plundered her temple at Askalon, and their posterity for ever, the Goddess inflicted the female disease. The Scythians accordingly attribute their disease to this cause; and those who travel to the Scythian country, may witness the condition of those, whom they call the Enareæ.

106. The Scythians, then, governed Asia for eight and twenty years, and everything was deranged by their insolence and neglect; for, independently of exacting the tribute which fell to the share of every individual, they also—in addition to the tribute—rode about, and plundered the possessions of all. The greater number of these, Cyaxares and the Medes assassinated, after entertaining and intoxicating them; and in this way the Medes regained their supremacy, and their authority over their former dominions, and took Nineveh—how they effected its capture, I shall explain in another narrative—and subjugated all the Assyrians, except the district of Babylon. After these achievements, and a reign of forty years, including the period of the Scythian usurpation, Cyaxares died.

107. Then Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the monarchy. He had a daughter whose name was Mandanè; and Astyages fancied in a dream, that she made so much water, as to deluge his own city, and overflow all Asia. Submitting this vision to the dream-readers of the *Magi*, he was alarmed at learning from them the particulars

of its import ; and when this Mandanè attained a marriageable age, he refused to give her to any Mede of his own rank, through fear of the dream ; but bestowed her on a Persian, named Cambyses, whom he ascertained to be of reputable descent, and peaceful disposition ; but whom he would regard as far inferior to any Mede of ordinary respectability.

108. In the first year of Mandanè's marriage with Cambyses, Astyages saw another vision. He thought that a vine grew from his daughter's womb, and overshadowed all Asia. When he saw this, and submitted it to the dream-readers, he sent to Persia for his daughter, who was then pregnant ; and, on her arrival, placed her in confinement with the intention of destroying her offspring ; because, in consequence of the vision, the dream-readers of the Magi had predicted, that his daughter's child was destined to reign in his stead. Astyages, therefore, to guard against this, as soon as Cyrus was born, summoning Harpagus, his own kinsman, the most faithful of the Medes, and his confidential agent in all his concerns, addressed him thus :—"Harpagus, the commission with which I now entrust you, you shall in no case neglect. You are not to betray me, and by preferring others, bring down hereafter destruction upon yourself. Take the child which Mandanè has brought forth, and bringing him to your house, put him to death ; then bury him in any manner you please." The other replied : "Sire, you have never, in time past, detected anything undutiful in your servant ; and, for the time to come, I shall take care never to offend against you. And since it is your pleasure that this be done, it is also my duty diligently to obey."

109. Harpagus having thus answered, when the child was handed to him, arrayed in the ornaments of the grave, departed weeping to his house. When he came, he repeated to his wife all that Astyages had spoken. Then she asked him : "How, therefore, do you intend to act ?" And he replied : "Not as Astyages has commanded. Not, though he were to go mad, and be more insane than he now is ; I shall not lend myself to his will, nor obey him in such a murder as this. For many reasons, I will *not take his life* ; both, because the child is my kinsman ; *and because Astyages is old, and has no male offspring.*

If, upon his death, the crown descend to this daughter, whose son he would now murder by my hand, what would then remain for me but the greatest danger? For my own safety, however, the child must die; but the executioner must be one of Astyages' people, not one of mine."

110. Thus he spoke, and immediately sent a messenger for a herdsman, whom he knew to frequent the pastures most suitably situated, and the mountains most infested by wild beasts. His name was Mitrdates: he had married his fellow-slave; and the woman's name, whom he married, was Cyno in the Greek language, and Spako in the Median—for the Medes call a bitch Spako. The foot of the mountains, where this herdsman kept his oxen, lies to the North of Agbatana, and toward the Euxine Sea. The Median territory, on that side toward the Saspeires, is very mountainous, lofty, and shaded by forests; while the rest of Media is all level. Accordingly, when the herdsman appeared to a hasty summons, Harpagus addressed him as follows:—"Astyages commands you to take this child, and place him on the most desolate part of the mountains, so that he may perish as soon as possible. He also commands me to tell you this, that in case you do not kill him, but save him in any way, you shall perish by a most miserable death. I have been appointed to see him exposed."

111. The herdsman, having heard this, and taken the child with him, retraced his way, and arrived at his cabin. Now it happened providentially that his own wife, who had been expecting every day to bring forth, was delivered while her husband was absent in the city. They had both been anxious about each other; he, dreading his wife's illness; and she, because Harpagus, contrary to custom, had sent for her husband. When he returned, and suddenly stood before her, his wife, seeing him so unexpectedly, inquired first: "Why Harpagus had so hastily sent for him." "Wife," he replied, "I saw and heard, when I entered the city, what I would that I had never seen—that had never happened to our masters. All the family of Harpagus was plunged in sorrow; and, terrified as I was, I went in. When I entered, I saw a child lying before me, gasping and screaming, dressed in trinkets and costly garments. When Harpagus perceived me, he ordered me to take up the child at once, and bring him

away with me, and place him on the wildest part of the mountain ; adding, that it was Astyages who required this service of me, and threatening me severely if I should fail to do so. So I took him up and brought him away, supposing that he belonged to some of the servants ; for at that time I had no suspicion whose he was ; though I was surprised to see him dressed in gold and fine garments, and besides, at the sorrow that evidently pervaded the house of Harpagus. Soon after, however, as I came away, I heard the whole story from a servant, who escorted me through the city and handed me the infant ; that he is the son of Mandanè, the daughter of Astyages and of Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus ; and, that Astyages ordered them to put him to death. And now, here he is."

112. As the herdsman told her this, he uncovered and showed her the child ; and when she found that the child was strong and beautiful, weeping and clasping the knees of her husband, she besought him on no account to expose him. He replied that he could not possibly do otherwise ; because spies would come from Harpagus to watch him ; and that, unless he did so, he must die a miserable death. When she could not persuade her husband, she addressed him a second time, thus : " Well, then, since I cannot prevail upon you not to expose him, at least do this—since it is absolutely necessary that he should be seen exposed, I have also been delivered, and of a dead child ; take this, therefore, and expose it, and let us bring up the son of Astyages' daughter as our own ; and thus, you will not be detected in deceiving your masters, nor shall we consult unwisely for ourselves ; for the dead child shall receive a regal burial, and the living child shall be saved."

113. His wife appeared to the herdsman to make a prudent suggestion under the circumstances ; and he immediately adopted it. He committed to his wife the child which he had brought with him to put to death ; and his own, which was dead, he laid in the basket in which he had brought the other ; and dressing it in all the ornaments of the other child, he took and exposed it upon the most lonely part of the mountains. When the third day arrived after the exposure of the infant, the herdsman proceeded to the city, leaving there one of his helpers as *a guard*, and reported to Harpagus that he was prepared to show the dead body of the child. Harpagus, then,

sending the most faithful of his guards, deputed them to see and bury the herdsman's child. The child was buried accordingly; while the herdsman's wife took care of, and brought up the other, who was afterwards named Cyrus, though she gave him, at the time, some other name.

114. At length, when the child attained the age of ten years, an accident of the following nature discovered his identity:—He was playing in the village where these ox-stalls were, and used to join in the amusements of his coevals, on the road. The children, also, had appointed as their king this boy, who was ostensibly the herdsman's son; and he had accordingly selected some of them to build houses, others to be his guards, another to be *the king's eye*, and another to perform the duty of conveying messages; distributing a different office to each. Now, one of these boys who played with him, was the son of Artembares, a man of high station among the Medes, and would not, therefore, perform the duty enjoined by Cyrus; he therefore commanded the other boys to seize him, and when they obeyed, Cyrus beat him with much severity. As soon as he was set free, feeling that he had been treated with indignity, he resented it deeply, and when he returned to the city, complained to his father of what he had suffered from Cyrus—not indeed speaking of him as Cyrus, for he had not yet received that name—but as the son of Astyages' herdsman. Artembares then, under the indignation which he felt, waited upon Astyages, and bringing his son with him, stated that he had suffered an indignity, adding, “we have been thus insulted, sire, by your slave; the son of your herdsman;” shewing, at the same time, his son's shoulders.

115. When Astyages heard and saw this, as he was disposed to avenge the boy, for sake of the rank of Artembares, he sent for the herdsman and his son. When they had both arrived, Astyages, looking at Cyrus, said, “Have you, the son of such a person as this, presumed to treat with such insult the son of this man, who is one of my highest nobles?” To which the other replied, “My lord, I have done this justly, for the boys of the village, of whom he is one, in their play elected me their king; as I appeared to them the best qualified for the purpose. The other boys, then, obeyed my orders; while he refused and

disregarded me, until he was punished. If, therefore, I deserve punishment on this account, here I am."

116. As the boy spoke thus, a suspicion of his identity occurred to Astyages; for the impress of his features appeared to him to resemble his own, and his reply to be more than usually independent. The time, also, of his exposure seemed to correspond with the boy's age. Startled by these considerations, he remained silent for some time, and at length, slowly recollecting himself, and wishing to dismiss Artembares, in order to take and examine the herdsman in private, he said, "I shall so dispose of this matter, Artembares, that you and your son shall have no cause of complaint." He then dismissed Artembares; and the attendants, on the command of Astyages, removed Cyrus to an inner apartment. When the herdsman was left alone, Astyages asked him in private "where he had got that child, and who had given him to him?" He replied that he was his own son, and that his mother was still living with him. Astyages observed "that he was acting unwisely in desiring to be put to the torture;" and as he spoke thus, ordered his guards to seize him. But, when brought to the torture, he disclosed the facts. Commencing from the first, he recounted all, adhering to the truth, and concluded with prayers and entreaties for his pardon.

117. When the herdsman had confessed the truth, Astyages paid him thenceforth but slight attention; but, deeply offended with Harpagus, ordered his guards to summon him. When Harpagus appeared before him, Astyages interrogated him thus: "Harpagus, by what death did you dispose of the child, my daughter's son, whom I entrusted to you?" Harpagus, when he saw the herdsman present, resorted to no falsehood, lest he should be convicted by his evidence, but spoke as follows:—"When I took charge of the child, sire, I considered anxiously how I might accede to your wishes, and avoid giving you offence, without, at the same time, becoming guilty before your daughter and yourself. I acted, accordingly, thus: Summoning this herdsman, I committed the infant to him, stating that it was you who ordered him to be put to death. In saying this, I spoke no falsehood; for you did *give such an order*. With that understanding, I gave him

the child, desiring him to expose him on a desolate mountain; and to stand by and watch until he was dead; threatening him with all species of punishment, in case he failed to perform it. As soon, therefore, by his obedience to this command, as the child was dead, I sent the most trusty of my eunuchs, and deputed them to see and bury him. This, sire, is the history of this affair; and such was the death which the child met."

118. Harpagus thus made a straightforward confession; but Astyages, dissembling the resentment which he felt towards him, in consequence of the result, first repeated to Harpagus the facts which he had learned from the herdsman; and then, when he had finished the recital, concluded by saying, "The boy is alive; and it is all well. Because," he continued, "I suffered much uneasiness for my treatment of that child; and could not but feel distressed by the reproaches of my daughter. As the event, therefore, has turned out favourably, you must, in the first instance, send your son to our lately-restored child; and, in the next place—as I intend to hold a festival for the child's preservation, in honour of the Gods to whom that compliment is due—he with me yourself to dinner."

119. When Harpagus heard this, making his obeisance, and congratulating himself that his disobedience had resulted fortunately, and that, on account of the happy accident, he had been invited to dinner, he returned home; and the moment he arrived, sent his only son, then about thirteen years old, and desired him to go to Astyages, and do whatever he may order; and, in the fullness of his joy, recounted to his wife all that had occurred. But Astyages, as soon as the son of Harpagus arrived, putting him to death, and cutting him limb from limb, roasted some and boiled the rest of the flesh; and dressing it carefully, kept it ready. Then, when dinner-time arrived, and Harpagus and the other guests presented themselves, dishes full of mutton were set before the others and Astyages himself; but for Harpagus was served all the body of his son, except the head and the extremities of the hands and feet, and these were placed aside, covered on a tray. When Harpagus appeared to have eaten sufficient, Astyages enquired if he were pleased with the banquet; and, when Harpagus replied that he was much gratified, the attendants, instructed for the purpose, presented to him his

son's head under a cover, with the hands and feet ; and standing by him invited him to uncover them, and take what he pleased. Harpagus complied, and removing the cover, beheld the fragments of his son ; but he expressed no horror at the sight, and maintained his composure. Astyages then asked him if he knew what animal it was whose flesh he had been eating. He replied that he did ; and that whatever the king may do was agreeable to him. Having made this reply, and taken up what remained of the flesh, he returned home ; intending afterwards, as I suppose, to collect and bury it all.

120. Such was the punishment which Astyages inflicted upon Harpagus. Taking counsel, then, respecting Cyrus, he summoned the same Magi who had previously interpreted his dream ; and, on their arrival, Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They still returned the same answer, adding that the boy was destined to become king, if he were yet alive, and had not already died. He answered them in these words : “ The boy is in existence, and still lives : and while residing in the country, the children of the village elected him king. He has fully assumed all the dignity which real kings enjoy ; for he has appointed guards, and door-keepers, and messengers, and all the rest ; and now, what is your opinion of the meaning of all this ? ” “ Since,” replied the Magi, “ the boy survives, and has become a king, without an ulterior view, you should feel no apprehension as far as he is concerned, and keep your mind at ease ; for he will never reign again. Some of our predictions end in trifles, and the intimations of dreams particularly result in very unimportant consequences.” To this Astyages answered : “ I am myself inclined to this opinion ; that, as the boy has been called a king, the dream is fulfilled, and the boy is no longer to be dreaded by me. You must advise me, however, with your utmost caution, what course is likely to be the safest for my family and yourselves.” To this the Magi answered : “ It is even to ourselves, sire, a consideration of the greatest importance that your dominion should be secured ; for otherwise it would be alienated, devolving upon this boy, who is a Persian ; and we, who are Medes, would be enslaved, and despised by the *Persians, who are strangers* ; but while you our fellow-citizen *continue on the throne*, we enjoy power to some extent,

and receive high honours at your hands. Under these circumstances, then, we have every motive to consult for you and your crown; and, if we could see any danger in the present case, would give you ample warning. Now, however, as the dream has resulted in a trifle, we are ourselves free from apprehension, and recommend you to feel likewise; and to send away the boy from your presence into Persia to his parents."

121. Astyages was rejoiced to hear this, and calling Cyrus, addressed him thus: "My child; as I would have wronged you in consequence of an idle vision in a dream, and you have, by your own destiny, survived; depart now in peace to Persia; and I shall furnish you with an escort. When you arrive there, you shall meet your parents, very different persons from the herdsman and his wife."

122. With these words, Astyages sent away Cyrus, and his parents met him, on his arrival at the house of Cambyses; and, when they received him, on being informed who he was, they caressed him affectionately; as they supposed him to have died long ago. They inquired how he had survived; and he told them that hitherto he had known nothing of it, but had been under a false impression; and had been informed, on his journey, of all his own adventures. For, he had supposed that he was the son of Astyages' herdsman; but, had learned, on his way home, all his history from his escort. He told them, that he had been nursed by a herdsman's wife, and continued speaking of her incessantly. Cyno was the whole burden of his conversation; and, his parents taking advantage of that name—in order that their son may appear to the Persians to have been more providentially preserved—circulated a report, that a bitch had suckled him. And, from this accident, the report took its origin.

123. When Cyrus attained maturity, and became the most manly and amiable of his coevals, Harpagus shewed him considerable attention, and sent him presents, from a desire to avenge himself on Astyages; for, he could not see how punishment could overtake Astyages from himself, as he was but a private individual. Perceiving Cyrus growing up, he contracted an alliance with him, as he saw a resemblance between the sufferings of Cyrus and his own. Before this time, however, he had made the following *arrangements*:—seeing that Astyages behaved oppressively

to the Medes, Harpagus ingratiated himself, severally and individually, with the highest of the Medes, and persuaded them that they ought to set up Cyrus as their leader, and depose Astyages. When this was so far effected, and ready for execution, Harpagus, desiring to communicate his designs to Cyrus, now residing in Persia, could find no other expedient, as the roads were guarded; until he devised the following:—Having prepared a hare for the purpose, by opening the stomach, and removing none of the hair; he inserted a letter, in which he wrote what he intended; then sewing up the stomach, and giving a net to one of the most trusty of his domestics, as if he were a hunter, he sent him with it into Persia; adding a verbal command: to tell Cyrus, when giving him the hare, to open it with his own hand, and have nobody present while he did so.

124. This was accordingly done, and Cyrus received and opened the hare. Finding the letter which it contained, he took and read it. The letter conveyed the following intimation:—"Son of Cambyzes, since the Gods protect you—for otherwise you would never have attained your present position—you can now avenge yourself on Astyages, your murderer. For, as far as his designs could have effected it, you were dead; but, through me and the Gods, you survive. All this, I presume, you must have been long since aware of; as well what happened yourself, as also, what I have suffered from Astyages, for not having put you to death, but given you to the herdsman. Now, therefore, if you will listen to my suggestion, you shall become monarch of all the realm which Astyages now rules. You should induce the Persians to revolt, and invade the Medes. And in case I, or any other Mede of high rank be appointed to lead the troops against you, all shall be as you wish; for all these nobles, having renounced his allegiance, and espoused your cause, will endeavour to dethrone him. Since everything here is ready, do this, and do it speedily."

125. When Cyrus received this intelligence, he began to consider the most politic measure by which he may induce the Persians to revolt; and, upon reflection, decided upon the following as the most appropriate; and, accordingly, proceeded to execute it. Having written in a letter what he intended, he convened an assembly of the Persians; and then, opening and reading it, said that Astyages *had appointed him* general of the Persians. "Now, Per-

sians," he continued, "I proclaim that you are all to repair to me, every man with a sickle." Such was the edict published by Cyrus. Now, there are several tribes of the Persians, some of which Cyrus brought together, and induced to revolt from the Medes. Those, upon whom the rest of the Persians depend, are the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii, and the Maspîi; of these the highest are the Pasargadæ, among whom is the clan of the Achæmenidæ, from whom the Perseid kings are descended. The other Persians are the Panthialæi, the Derusiæi, and the Germanii, who are all tillers of the land; and the rest, the Dai, the Mardii, the Dropici and Sagartii are shepherds.

126. When they all presented themselves, armed according to order, Cyrus commanded them—as there was a piece of land in Persia overgrown with briars, and about eighteen or twenty stadia in every direction—to clear that space during the day. And when the Persians had performed the task prescribed, he then commanded them to attend him, after bathing, on the following day. In the mean time, Cyrus, having collected all his father's flocks of goats and sheep, and herds of oxen, killed and dressed them, for the purpose of entertaining the Persian army, in addition to wine and other appropriate refectations; and, when the Persians came on the following day, he bade them recline on the grass, and regaled them. When they had finished their repast, Cyrus enquired whether their fare on yesterday or to-day were the more agreeable. They replied that a wide difference lay between them; for, on the preceding day, it was all hardship; while to-day it was all enjoyment. Cyrus, then, taking advantage of this reply, explained candidly his intentions, and said, "Our case, Persians, is precisely this: if you will but follow me, you have these and all other enjoyments, without submitting to servile labours; but, if you will not, then numberless hardships like those of yesterday, await you. Now, therefore, follow me, and be free; for I feel that I have been born providentially to undertake this enterprise; and I believe that you are, neither in war nor any other service, inferior to the Medes. Such being the case, then, revolt at once from Astyages."

127. The Persians, therefore, having found a leader, and having long chafed under the Median supremacy, gladly asserted their liberty. When Astyages heard of

these proceedings of Cyrus, he sent a messenger to summon him ; and Cyrus ordered the messenger to take back, for answer, " That he would be with him sooner than Astyages would desire." When Astyages heard this, he armed all the Medes, and, as if in a moment of fatuity, named Harpagus as their leader, forgetting what provocation he had given him. When the Medes took the field, and encountered the Persians, some of them, who knew nothing of the collusion, made resistance ; while others deserted to the Persians, and the greater number were panic-stricken and fled.

128. After this disgraceful dispersion of the Median army, when Astyages received the intelligence, menacing Cyrus, he exclaimed: " Yet, not even so shall Cyrus escape with impunity." When he had so spoken, he first impaled the dream-readers of the Magi, who had advised him to set Cyrus free; and then, placed under arms all the Medes who remained in the city, old and young. Leading these forth, and engaging with the Persians, Astyages was defeated, taken prisoner himself, and lost all the Medes whom he had brought into action.

129. Harpagus presenting himself before Astyages, now a prisoner, exulted over and taunted him; and among other galling observations, asked him—with an allusion to that dinner at which he had feasted him upon his son's flesh—" how he was pleased with slavery instead of a throne." The other, fixing his eyes upon him, enquired in return, if he took credit to himself for the success of Cyrus. Harpagus admitted that, as he had written it, the deed was justly his own. Astyages then called him the most stupid and malicious of the human race; the most stupid, because, when he might have himself become king, and when the present revolution had been induced by him, he had invested another with royalty; and the most malicious, because, for that dinner, he had enslaved the Medes; for, if he must of necessity invest some other with the sovereignty, and not assume it himself, it were more patriotic to confer this superiority on some Mede than on a Persian. But, as it was, the unoffending Medes had been reduced from empire to slavery; while the Persians, hitherto subject to the Medes, had now become their masters.

130. Astyages, then, after a reign of five and thirty *years*, was in this manner dethroned; and the Medes,

in consequence of his oppression, submitted to the Persians, after having ruled all Asia North of the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years, exclusive of the interval of the Scythian usurpation. Subsequently, however, they repented of having done this, and revolted from Darius; but, during their insurrection, were defeated in battle, and again subdued. At this time, however, under Astyages, the Persians and Cyrus renouncing their allegiance to the Medes, assumed thenceforth the sovereignty of Asia. Cyrus, then, inflicting no further punishment, kept Astyages with him until his death. Thus born and educated, Cyrus ascended a throne; and afterwards, as I have already stated, overthrew Cræsus, who had gratuitously provoked him; and by his victory over him became monarch of all Asia.

131. The Persians, to my knowledge, observe the following customs. They do not habitually erect statues, or temples, or altars, and consider it irrational of those who do; because, as far as I can judge, they do not, like the Greeks, believe the Gods to dwell in human forms. They adopt the ceremony of ascending the summits of the mountains, and offering sacrifice to Jupiter; and call the whole celestial sphere Jupiter. They sacrifice, also, to the sun, the moon, and the earth, fire, water, and the winds. These alone they worshipped originally; but have since learned from the Assyrians and Arabians to adore Urania. The Assyrians call Venus Mylitta; the Arabians, Alitta; and the Persians, Mitra.

132. Of the Deities enumerated the following is the conventional mode of worship among the Persians. When preparing for sacrifice they build no altar, and kindle no fire: they use no libation, no flute, no fillets, no cakes; but, when one intends to sacrifice to any particular God, he brings the victim to an open plain, and invokes the Deity, generally encircling his turban with a myrtle-wreath. It is not permitted the worshipper to solicit blessings for himself alone; but, he prays for the prosperity of all the Persians and the king; because he is himself included in the Persian community. When he has cut up the victim into joints, and boiled the flesh, laying under it the tenderest herbage, generally trefoil, he spreads all the flesh upon it; and when he has so arranged it, one of the *Magi* stands near and sings the *theogonia*, which they call

the incantation ; for, without the presence of a Magus, they may not duly sacrifice. Then the worshipper, after a brief delay, removes the flesh, and disposes of it as he pleases.

133. They observe the custom of honouring, most of all days, that on which each has been born. On that day they deem it right to prepare a more abundant feast than usual. On those occasions, the wealthy among them serve up whole an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass, baked in an oven ; while poor persons dress some small animal. They use but little meat, with several second dishes, and no salt. And for this reason the Persians say that the Greeks rise from table still hungry, because no second dish of any consequence is brought in after dinner ; and, if any such were set on, they would not cease eating. They are excessively addicted to wine, and it is improper to retch or make water in presence of another. These following observances they also practice. They are accustomed to deliberate, while intoxicated, on the most important concerns, and whatever decision they attain, the host, at whose table they have consulted, submits, on the following day, for their sober consideration. If it still meets their approbation when sober, they adopt it ; if not, they reject it. And whatever they have suggested when sober, they revise when drunk.

134. When they meet each other on the road, one may infer, from the following ceremony, whether those who meet are of equal rank ; for, in place of accosting each other, they kiss with their lips. Should one happen to be slightly inferior, they kiss on the cheek ; and if one be of a much lower caste, he falls down and makes obeisance to the other. They honour above all, after themselves, their nearest neighbours ; and after them, the next in succession ; and descend thence proportionately in their degrees of estimation, respecting least of all those who reside farthest from themselves ; regarding themselves, in all things, as the most perfect of mankind ; and all others as approximating to perfection in the foregoing degrees ; and those who dwell most remote from themselves the lowest in the *scale*. Under the Median dynasty, the nations ruled each other ; the Medes ruled all collectively, and their nearest subjects in particular ; these in turn controlled the next ; and the last, in like manner, the next in succession. In

the same proportion do the Persians measure their esteem ; for that nation gradually extended their dominion and protection.

135. The Persians, of all nations, are the most imitative of foreign usages. For instance, they wear the Median costume, regarding it as more becoming than their own ; in war, they wear the Ægyptian corslet ; and practise all sorts of sensual indulgences which they can hear of ; and, among the rest, they have been taught by the Greeks a fondness for boys. They take, each of them, several wedded wives, and a much larger number of concubines.

136. Next to valour in war, it is considered the best proof of manliness to produce many children ; and the king annually sends presents to those who can exhibit the greatest number ; for they consider number to constitute strength. Beginning at the fifth, and continuing to the twentieth year, they instruct their sons in three accomplishments only : to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth. Before attaining his fifth year, a son never appears before his father, but lives in the seraglio. This is done, in order that, if he should die in his infancy, it may occasion no sorrow to his father.

137. This custom I approve of, as also the following : that, for any single offence, even the king may not put any man to death ; nor may any other Persian, for a single offence, inflict any severe punishment upon any of his own household ; but, if he should find, on investigation, that his offences overbalance his services, he may then gratify his resentment. They assert that none of them has ever yet taken the life of his father or mother ; but, in all cases where such things have occurred, it has been invariably found on inquiry that they were either suppositious or illegitimate children ; for they consider it improbable that a real father should be murdered by his own child.

138. All that it is unlawful to do, they are also forbidden to speak of. To be guilty of falsehood is looked upon as the greatest disgrace ; and next to that, to be a debtor ; because they believe it impossible for a debtor to avoid falsehood. Should any of them be afflicted with leprosy or scrofula, he is excluded from the city and the society of other Persians ; for they believe that he must be so afflicted for offences against the Sun. They generally expel from the country any stranger infected with these distempe

and white pigeons also, against which they urge the same cause. They never make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor permit any others to do so; but pay the greatest veneration to the rivers.

139. There is also another observance peculiar to them, which has not been noticed by the Persians themselves, but by us. All their names, which correspond with their physical qualities and rank, end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call *san*, and the Ionians *sigma*. You will find, on enquiry, that the Persian names, not partially, but universally, end in this letter.

140. These particulars I can affirm, with certainty and from my own experience, respecting them. The following, however, regarding the dead, are mysteriously and secretly mentioned: that the dead body of a Persian is never buried until it is torn by a bird or a dog. I know with certainty that the Magi observe this custom; for they do so publicly. The Persians lay a dead body in the earth, after coating it with wax. These Magi are a distinct class from all other men, and the Ægyptian priests; for the latter feel a superstition about killing any animal, except what they offer in sacrifice; while the Magi kill with their own hands everything but a man or a dog; and consider it meritorious to destroy ants, serpents, and other reptiles, and winged insects. Respecting this custom, the question must rest, as it was originally established, while I resume the course of my narrative.

141. The Ionians and Æolians, on the defeat of the Lydians by the Persians, sent an embassy to Cyrus at Sardis, desiring to become his subjects on the same terms as they had obtained from Cræsus; but he, on hearing their overtures, replied to them in an apologue: "A piper saw some fishes in the sea, and began to play, expecting that they would come on shore; but, disappointed in this hope, he took a net, and, enclosing a large number, drew them out. When he saw them leaping about he said to them: you may cease dancing for me now, because when I played for you, you would not come out and dance." This fable Cyrus then repeated to the Ionians and Æolians for this reason: because, the Ionians had previously refused to comply, when Cyrus requested them by his deputies to *revolt from Cræsus*; and now, when his object was *effected*, they were ready to submit to Cyrus. He, there-

fore, in his resentment, gave them this answer ; and, when the Ionians heard the reply brought to their cities, they severally secured themselves within their walls, and all met together at the Panionium, except the Milesians ; for, with these alone Cyrus had concluded a treaty on the same terms as the Lydian King. The rest of the Ionians then resolved unanimously to send an embassy to Sparta, to request them to assist the Ionians.

142. These Ionians, to whom the Panionium belongs, have founded their cities under the brightest skies and most genial climate that we know of upon earth. For neither the regions to the North are similarly circumstanced with Ionia, nor to the South, nor even to the East or West ; for the former are incommoded by cold and moisture, and the latter by heat and drought. They do not all use the same form of speech, but have four different dialects. Their principal city, Miletus, is situated in the South ; and, next to that, Myus and Prienæ. These are situated in Caria and speak the same dialect. The following are in Lydia : Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Cladsomenæ, and Phocæa ; and these present no similarity in dialect with those I have mentioned above, but only with each other. There are still three other Ionic cities, two of which are built on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythræ, is situated on the mainland. The Chians and Erythræans, then, resemble each other in language ; but the Samians are separate and distinct. These are their four diversities of dialect.

143. Of these Ionians, the Milesians having effected an alliance, were secure from alarm ; and the islanders had nothing to fear, because neither had the Phœnicians as yet become subjects of the Persians, nor had the Persians become sailors ; and these had seceded from the rest of the Ionians for no other than this cause : that, although the Greeks in general were weak, the Ionians were, of all others, the most helpless and insignificant ; for, with the exception of Athens, they had no city of importance. The Athenians and other Ionians, indeed, disclaimed the title, objecting to be called Ionians ; and even to this day, many of them appear to me to be ashamed of the name. These twelve cities, however, were proud of the title ; and built a temple among themselves, which they called the *Panionium*, and resolved to share it with no other Ionians ;

nor did any others, except the Smyrnæans, solicit a participation.

144. In like manner, the Dorians of the district now called Pentapolis, originally Hexapolis, carefully refused to admit any of their Dorian neighbours into the Triopian temple; and have even excluded from that privilege some of themselves who violated the observances of the temple. For, in the games of the Triopian Apollo, they used formerly to offer brazen tripods to the victors, and they who obtained them were obliged, instead of removing them from the temple, to dedicate them there to the Deity. A native of Halicarnassus, however, whose name was Agasicles, when he obtained a victory, disregarded the obligation, and brought the tripod to his own house and hung it up. For this offence, the five cities, Lindus, Ielissus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidos, excluded the sixth city, Halicarnassus, from the association, and imposed on them this penalty.

145. The Ionians, in my opinion, erected these twelve cities, and were unwilling to admit a greater number, for this reason, that when they resided in the Peloponessus, they formed twelve divisions, as there are now twelve divisions of the Achæans, who expelled the Ionians. Pellene is the nearest in the direction of Sicyon; next to that, Ægira and Ægæ—where the perennial river Crathis flows, from which the river in Italy took its name—then, Bura and Helice—where the Ionians took refuge when defeated in battle by the Achæans—then, Ægium, Rhypes, Patreis, Phareis, and Olenus—where the large river Peirus flows—and Dyme and Tritæeis, which are their only inland settlements.

146. These are now the twelve Achæan, as they were formerly the Ionian, districts; and for that reason, the Ionians established twelve cities: for it would be absurd to say that these are more essentially Ionian, or of more noble descent, than other Ionians, because the Abantes of Eubæa constitute no inconsiderable portion of them, though they never, even in name, had any connection with Ionia. The Minyæ of Orchomenus are also incorporated with them; and the Cadmeans, the Dryopes, a section of the Phocians, the Molossi, the Arcadian Pelasgi, and the Dorians of Epidaurus are blended among them. *That portion of them who came from the Prytæum of*

Athens, and considered themselves the most noble of the Ionians, brought no wives with them into exile; but married Carian women, whose male relatives they had slain. In consequence of this massacre, these women enacted a law, and bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted to their daughters; never to sit at table with their husbands, nor address them by name; because they had slain their fathers, and sons and husbands; and afterwards, when they had so acted, made them their wives. These events happened in Miletus.

147. The Ionians conferred royal authority; some upon Lycians descended from Glaucus the son of Hippolochus, others on Cauconians of Pylos, descended from Codrus the son of Melanthus; and others, on both these. They are, however, more attached to the name than the other Ionians; and may indeed be considered genuine Ionians; for all are Ionians, who trace their origin to Athens, and celebrate the festival of the Apaturia. This they all do, except the Ephesians and Colophonians; as these are the only Ionians who never take part in the Apaturia; and are excluded on a charge of murder.

148. The Panionium is a sacred place in Mycalè, facing the North; and jointly consecrated by the Ionians to the Heliconian Neptune. Mycalé is a promontory on the mainland, extending westwards toward Samos, where the Ionians assembling from their cities used to hold a festival, to which they gave the name Panionia. This peculiarity belongs not to the Ionian festivals alone; but all those of the Greeks in general terminate, like the names of the Persians, in the same letter. The foregoing are the Ionian cities.

149. The following are the Æolic colonies: Cymé, which is called Phriconis, Lerissæ, Neontichus, Temnus, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitané, Ægææ, Myrina, and Grynæa. These are eleven of the ancient cities of the Æolians; for, one of them, Smyrna, was withdrawn by the Ionians; because there were twelve of these also on the continent. These Æolians were fortunate in colonizing a more genial soil than the Ionians, but are not equally happy in their climate.

150. It was in the following manner that the Æolians lost Smyrna. They afforded an asylum to some natives of Colophon who were defeated in an insurrection, and banished from this country. Afterwards, however, the

Colophonian refugees, taking advantage of the absence of the Smyrnæans outside the walls, while celebrating a festival to Bacchus, shut the gates and took possession of the city. When all the Æolians came to the rescue, they effected a compromise: that, on condition of the Ionians surrendering the moveable property, the Æolians should abandon Smyrna. When the Smyrnæans acceded to this, the other eleven cities distributed and naturalized them among themselves.

151. These are the Æolian cities of the continent, exclusive of those situated upon Ida: for these latter are distinct. Of those which occupy the islands, five are situated in Lesbos; for, the Methymnæans reduced to slavery the sixth Lesbian city, named Arisba, although of their own kindred. One city is situated in Tenedos, and another in what is called the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos, then, and Tenedos had nothing to apprehend; but the other Ionian cities unanimously resolved to follow wherever they may lead them.

152. When the ambassadors of the Ionians and Æolians arrived at Sparta—for this measure was executed with all possible speed—they appointed a Phocæan, whose name was Pythermus, to speak for all; and he, wearing a purple robe—in order that as many of the Spartans as possible may be informed of the event and attend the meeting—and coming forward, delivered a long speech, entreating their assistance. The Lacedæmonians, however, heeded him not; but decided upon refusing their succour to the Ionians; and they accordingly returned home. But the Lacedæmonians, though they disappointed the Ionian ambassadors, sent men, in a fifty-oar galley, to observe, as I should suppose, the proceedings of Cyrus and Ionia. When these arrived at Phocæa, they deputed the most distinguished of their number, whose name was Lacrines, to proceed to Sardis, and warn Cyrus, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, “to injure no city of the Geek territory; because they would not overlook it.”

153. When the herald delivered this message, it is recorded that Cyrus enquired of the Greeks who were with him, “who the Lacedæmonians were, and how many, that they should address him in such terms?” and that, when he was informed, he said to the Spartan herald, “I have never *yet been afraid of such men as have a place set apart in the*

middle of their cities, where they assemble to defraud each other by perjury—these men, if I live, shall have not merely the sufferings of the Ionians to discuss, but their own also.” These words Cyrus intended as an allusion to the Greeks in general; because they have public squares, which they use for buying and selling; for, the Persians themselves were never accustomed to frequent markets; nor have they any squares for any purpose. After this, committing the government of Sardis to a Persian named Tabalus; and the removal of all the gold, belonging to Crœsus and the other Lydians, to a Lydian named Pactyas, Cyrus took his departure for Agbatana, taking Crœsus with him, and not deeming the Ionians of sufficient importance to claim his first attention; for Babylon was an immediate obstacle, and the Bactrian nation, and the Sacians and Ægyptians, against whom he intended to take the field in person, while he sent another commander against the Ionians.

154. When Cyrus had taken the road from Sardis, Pactyas seduced the Lydians from Tabalus and Cyrus; and proceeding down to the sea, as he had with him all the gold of Sardis, hired mercenaries, and induced the natives of the coast to take military service under him. Then, marching upon Sardis, he laid siege to Tabalus, and confined him to the citadel.

155. When Cyrus received this intelligence on his journey, he said to Crœsus: “What is to be the end, Crœsus, of these doings? The Lydians, it appears, will never cease to give and incur trouble. I am considering, whether it may not be my best plan to reduce them to slavery; for, I think, I have acted in the same manner, as if one had slain the father, and spared his children; since I have brought you with me, who are something more than the father of the Lydians, and have entrusted the city to the Lydians themselves. Am I to wonder, then, at their rebellion?” He spoke his present sentiments; and the other, fearing that Cyrus may destroy Sardis, replied as follows:—“You have spoken, Sire, as might be expected. Do not, however, yield altogether to your resentment, nor destroy an ancient city, which is innocent of former offences, as well as the present. For the former I was myself responsible, and have atoned in my own person; but as Pactyas, to whom you entrusted Sardis, is guilty of the present outrage, let him suffer. Pardon the Lydians, and lay the following

injunctions on them, to prevent their revolting, or being formidable to you. Send and interdict the use of warlike arms among them. Order them to wear tunics inside their clothes, and boots on their feet; direct them also to teach their sons to play the guitar, to sing to music, and to keep shops; and, in a short time, Sire, you shall find that they have become women instead of men; so that you shall have no apprehension of rebellion."

156. This suggestion Cræsus offered, under the impression, that it would be better for the Lydians, than to be sold into slavery; for he knew, that without urging some plausible motive, he should never induce him to change his mind; and feared, that if they escaped on this occasion, the Lydians may, at some future time, revolt from the Persians, and be destroyed. Cyrus, however, was pleased with the suggestion, and suppressing his anger, promised to take his advice. Then, summoning a Mede, named Madsares, he commanded him to give orders to the Lydians, as Cræsus had suggested; and further, to reduce to slavery all the others, who had joined the Lydians in the invasion of Sardis; and in any case, to bring Pactyas alive.

157. When he had sent these orders, on his journey, he pursued his way to the settlements of the Persians. When Pactyas ascertained that the army was marching against him and was already near, he fled in terror to Cymè; and Madsares the Mede, having marched to Sardis with such portion as he had, of the army of Cyrus, when he found that Pactyas and his party were no longer in Sardis; in the first instance, obliged the Lydians to conform to the commands of Cyrus, and in obedience to his proclamation, the Lydians remodelled altogether their social habits. Madsares, in the second place, sent deputies to Cymè, requiring the surrender of Pactyas; but the Cymæans resolved to consult the Deity of the Branchidæ, respecting their decision. There was an old established oracle there, which the Ionians and Æolians used all to consult. This place is in Milesia, to the North of the harbour of Panormus.

158. The Cymæans, therefore, sent deputies to the Branchidæ, and enquired, "How they should act respecting Pactyas, so as to be likely to please the Gods." When they submitted this question, the reply of the oracle was, "*to surrender Pactyas to the Persians.*" The Cymæans,

when they heard this answer reported, were disposed to surrender him ; but, although the people were this way inclined, Aristodicus, the son of Heracleides, a man of high character among the citizens, prevented them from doing so, as he doubted the oracle, and suspected that the deputies may not have made a true report, so that a second deputation, of which Aristodicus was one, proceeded to make a further inquiry respecting Pactyas.

159. When they came to the Branchidæ, Aristodicus, speaking for all, consulted the oracle, and enquired as follows: "O king! Pactyas, a Lydian, has resorted to us as a suppliant, to escape a violent death by the hands of the Persians. They now demand him, and require the Cymæans to surrender him ; and we, though fearing the Persians' power, have not hitherto ventured to surrender our suppliant, until we shall have it clearly defined by you, how we should act." Such was his enquiry ; but, the Deity still returned the same response, and ordered them "to surrender Pactyas to the Persians." Hereupon Aristodicus, as he had previously designed, adopted the following expedient. Taking the circuit of the temple, he dislodged the sparrows and all other birds that had built nests about the temple ; and, while he was thus employed, it is said that a voice issued from the shrine, and addressing Aristodicus, said: "Most impious of men ! why presumest thou to act thus? Wouldst thou expel my suppliants from my temple?" and that Aristodicus, nothing embarrassed, made answer: "O king ! do you thus protect your own suppliants ; and order the Cymæans to surrender theirs?" Again, the Deity replied: "Yes, I do so order you ; that, by your impiety, you may the sooner perish ; and, that you may never more consult the oracle about the restitution of suppliants."

160. The Cymæans, on hearing this answer ; and desiring neither to perish for surrendering him, nor to be besieged for protecting him, sent him away to Mitylenè. The people of Mitylene, when Madsares sent an embassy requiring the surrender of Pactyas, were ready to do so for a stipulated sum. I cannot, however, positively assert this ; for the negotiation was never completed. Because the Cymæans, understanding what was contemplated by the Mitylenæans, sent a galley to Lesbos, and removed *Pactyas* to Chios. Eventually, however, torn from the

sanctuary of Minerva Poliuchos, by the Chians, he was surrendered; and the Chians gave him up in exchange for the possession of Atarneus; and the site of this Atarneus is in Mysia, opposite Lesbos. The Persians, therefore, having recovered Pactyas, kept him in custody, with the intention of presenting him to Cyrus. For a long time afterwards, none of the Chians would offer to any Deity cakes of the barley from Atarneus; nor was any of its produce dressed for food; and all the growth of that soil was excluded from every temple.

161. The Chians, as I have stated, delivered up Pactyas; and Madsares then marched against those who had assisted to besiege Tabalus. In the first instance, he enslaved the Prienæans; and secondly, overran all the plain of the Mæander, which he resigned for plunder to his troops; and at length died from a sudden illness.

162. After his death, Harpagus, who was also a Mede; the same whom Astyages had feasted at the tragic banquet, and who had assisted Cyrus in assuming the monarchy, came down to succeed him in the command of the army. This man who was now appointed by Cyrus to the command, on his arrival in Ionia, proceeded to take the cities by earthworks; for, when he had driven the people to the shelter of their walls, he would then raise mounds against the walls and destroy them. Phocœa was the first Ionian city that he attacked.

163. These Phocœans were the first to make distant voyages, and were also the discoverers of the Hadriatic and Tyrrhene seas; of Iberia and Tartessus. They went to sea, not in trading vessels, but fifty-oar gallies. On their arrival at Tartessus, they were kindly treated by the king of the Tartessians, whose name was Aganthonius. He reigned at Tartessus for eighty years, and lived altogether, one hundred-and-twenty. From this man the Phocœans experienced such kindness that, at first, he invited them to leave Ionia, and settle wherever they pleased in his own dominions; and then, failing to persuade them to embrace this offer, and understanding from them, how powerful the Medes were becoming, he supplied them with money to fortify their city. His presents were liberal; for the circumference of the wall is several stadia, and all this, constructed of large and well-jointed stones.

164. By these means were the fortifications of the Phocæans raised; and, when Harpagus advanced against them, he besieged them, after having first offered them terms. "That it would satisfy him, if the Phocæans would raze one single battlement of their ramparts, and dedicate one house to the king." The Phocæans however, abhorring slavery, replied, "that they required one day to decide, and would then return an answer; but, while they were deliberating, they requested that he would withdraw his troops from the walls." Harpagus informed them, "that he was aware of their intentions, but would, nevertheless, allow them to deliberate." While Harpagus, accordingly, was withdrawing his army from the wall, the Phocæans, in the mean time, launched their fifty-oar galleys, and embarking their children and wives, and all moveable property, together with the statues from the temples, and other consecrated offerings—except such as were of brass or stone, or paintings—placing all the rest on board, and embarking themselves, set sail for Chios; while the Persians took possession of Phocæa, thus abandoned by its inhabitants.

165. The Phocæans, when the Chians refused to sell them the islands called *Ænussæ*, which they desired to purchase, fearing that they may become a mercantile station, and their own island be consequently superseded; then set sail for Cynus: for they had, twenty years previously, by the advice of an oracle, built a city in Cynus, named Alalia. Arganthonius had been now some time dead. On their voyage to Cynus, however, they first put in to Phocæa, and massacred the Persian garrison, who had been entrusted by Harpagus with the care of the city; and then, after that was accomplished, they denounced, with the deepest imprecations, any of their own party who should forsake the fleet. Still further, they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to revisit Phocæa, until that iron should float. But, during the voyage to Cynus, a longing regret for the city and the familiar scenes of home seized more than half the citizens; and forgetting their oath, they sailed back to Phocæa; while the rest, true to their promise, weighed anchor and sailed from the *Ænussæ*.

166. After they arrived at Cynus, they resided indiscriminately, during five years, among the former colonists, and

erected temples; but, as they plundered and carried off the property of all their neighbours, the Tyrrheni and Carthaginians made common cause and undertook a war against them, with sixty galleys each. The Phocæans also having manned their fleet, which consisted likewise of sixty galleys, met them in the sea known as the Sardinian; and having engaged them, the Phocæans obtained what may be called a Cadmean victory; for, forty of their galleys were lost, and the remaining twenty were disabled, as their beaks were bent. Sailing back, then, to Alalia, they took on board their wives and children; with whatever other possessions their galleys could take, and leaving Cynus, turned their course to Rhegium.

167. Of the crews of the lost galleys, the Carthaginians and Tyrrheni got possession of the greater number, and all these they led forth and stoned. Afterwards, however, all animals belonging to the Agyllæans, as they passed the spot where the Agyllæans had been stoned and were buried, became deformed, and maimed, and convulsed; sheep, and draft-cattle, and men, indiscriminately. The Agyllæans, then, desiring to atone for the impiety, applied to Delphi; and the Pythia directed them to perform ceremonies, which the Agyllæans still observe: for they appease their manes with great magnificence, and have established athletic games and equestrian exhibitions. Such was the fate which these Phocæans met. The others, after taking refuge at Rhegium, proceeded thence, and built a city in Ænotria, which is now called Hyela. This colony they founded, at the suggestion of a native of Poseidonia, from whom they learned that the Pythia had advised them to establish the worship of the hero Cynus, and not colonize the island. Such is the history of Phocæa in Ionia.

168. Similar to this was the fate which the Teians experienced. For, when Harpagus had taken their walls, by a mound, they embarked in their galleys, and sailed away to Thrace, where they colonized the city Abdera, which Timesius of Cladsomenæ had previously founded, but never enjoyed; because he was expelled by the Thracians, and is now worshipped as a hero at Abdera.

169. These were the only Ionians who, through an intolerance of slavery, abandoned their native homes. The *other Ionians*, except the Milesians, opposed Harpagus in the field; and, like the exiles, proved themselves valiant

men in their several struggles for their own. But, at length, defeated and subdued, they remained in their respective homes, and submitted to controul. The Milesians, on the contrary, as I have already stated, concluded a treaty with Cyrus, and remained unmolested. Thus was Ionia, a second time, reduced to slavery; and, when Harpagus had subdued the Ionians of the continent, the islanders, apprehending the same result, yielded submission to Cyrus.

170. While the Ionians were thus oppressed, and still continued to meet at the Panionium, I am informed that Bias of Prienæ submitted to them a most profitable suggestion, which, if they had adopted it, would have made them the most powerful of the Grecian race. His advice was: "That the Ionians should weigh anchor in one common fleet, and sail to Sardinia, and then build one city for all the Ionians; that they might thus free themselves from slavery, and become prosperous, inhabiting the largest of all the islands, and enjoying the supremacy of the others; but so long as they remained in Ionia, he confessed that he could see no chance of reviving liberty." Such was the advice of Bias of Prienæ, given after the subversion of the Ionians; but, even before their destruction, a valuable suggestion had been made by Thales of Miletus, who was originally of Phœnician descent. He recommended the Ionians to establish one general council, which was to meet at Teos—for Teos was the central point of Ionia—and that the other established cities should nevertheless be regarded as if they were so many tribes. These were the opinions which they severally gave.

171. Harpagus, having now reduced Ionia, undertook an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Æolians. Of these, the Carians had removed from the islands to the continent; for, having been originally under subjection to Minos, and bearing the name of Leleges, they occupied the islands without paying any tribute, as far as I have been able, by the most remote enquiries, to ascertain. These, whenever Minos required their assistance, used to man their gallies; and, as Minos had obtained by conquest an extensive territory, and was successful in war, the Carians became the most important of all the nations of that period. To them are attributed three inventions, which the Greeks adopted.

for the Carians first invented the surmounting of helmets with crests, and the decoration of shields with emblematic devices. They also invented the handles of shields; for hitherto, all who used shields, bore them without handles, shifting them with leathern belts which they wore upon their necks and left arms. A long time after, the Dorians and Ionians dislodged the Carians from the islands; and in this way they settled on the continent. Such is the statement of the Cretans respecting the Carians; but they do not themselves concur in this account; for they believe themselves to be aboriginal inhabitants of the continent, and to have always borne the same name as at present. They also shew an ancient temple of the Carian Jupiter at Mylasi, which belongs in common to the Mysians and Lydians, who are kinsmen of the Carians: for they say that Lydus and Mysus were brothers of Car. To these the temple belongs; while all others, of any other nation, even though speaking the same language with the Carians, are excluded from participation.

172. The Caunians are they who, in my opinion, are aboriginal, though they represent themselves as coming from Crete. Either they have conformed, in language, to the Carians, or the Carians to them—for I cannot decide this point with precision—but, they adopt customs widely different both from all other people and the Carians; for it is their most favourite practice, for men, women, and children, to meet in large companies for convivial enjoyment, according to age and intimacy. Though temples to foreign Deities had been erected among them; yet eventually, when they disapproved of that system, and resolved to worship none but their national Gods; the whole Caunian nation, young and old, putting on armour, and beating the air with their lances, proceeded as far as the borders of the Calyndii, and said that they were expelling the strange Gods.

173. Such are the customs of that people; but, the Lycians came originally from Crete—for foreigners inhabited all Crete in ancient times—for when Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, quarrelled for the throne, Minos proving successful in the schism, expelled Sarpedon and his partisans; and they, thus driven into exile, repaired to the district of Milyas in Asia; for the territory now occupied *by the Lycians* was originally called Milyas; and the *Milyans* were then named Solymi. While Sarpedon was

their king, they were designated by the name which they brought with them ; and the Lycians, to this day, are known among their neighbours by the name Termilæ. But, when Lycus the son of Pandion, who was in like manner, exiled by his brother Ægeus, arrived among the Termilæ, under Sarpedon's protection, the Lycians, in course of time, came to be called after his name. The customs which they adopt, are partly Cretan, and partly Carian. They observe, however, one usage peculiar to themselves, in which they resemble no other people. They take their names from their mothers instead of their fathers ; and, if one enquire of another who he is, he will name himself after his mother, and trace his descent from his maternal ancestors. Further, should a free-born woman marry a slave, her children are recognized as free-born ; but, in case a citizen—even the highest of them—should marry a foreigner or bond-woman, his children are degraded.

174. The Carians, then, were reduced to slavery by Harpagus, without having performed one brilliant action in their defence. As were the Carians, so also were all the Greeks inhabiting the same country. Among other nations, the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, are settled there, who, as their territory, which is called Triopium, faces the sea : and, as all Cnidia, extending to the Bybassian peninsula, is almost surrounded by water—for it is bounded on the north by the Ceramic gulf ; and on the south by the sea near Cyme and Rhodes—this small isthmus, then, about fivestadia in breadth, the Cnidians proceeded to cut through, while Harpagus was engaged in the conquest of Ionia ; intending to convert their territory into an island, for all their possessions lay within the isthmus. Now, this isthmus, which they were to sever, is situated where the Cnidian land joins the continent ; and, when the Cnidians set to work with many hands, and the labourers fancied that they were injured in a strange and supernatural manner, both in other parts of the body, and more particularly in the eyes, from the flying fragments of the rock, they sent a deputation to Delphi to enquire respecting this obstruction ; and the Pythia, according to their own statement, replied to them in trimeter verses, thus ; “ you must neither fortify nor sever the isthmus ; for Jupiter, if he pleased, could have made it an island.” When the Pythia delivered this response, the Cnidians desisted from their work ; and, when

Harpagus arrived with his army, surrendered without a blow.

175. The Pedaseans were a people, dwelling inland to the north of Halicarnassus ; and when any misfortune was about to happen them, the priestess of Minerva used to grow a long beard. This happened three times. They were the only nation near Caria, who resisted Harpagus for any considerable time, and occasioned him the most trouble, by fortifying a mountain named Lida.

176. The Pedaseans, however, were ultimately reduced ; but, the Lycians, when Harpagus marched his troops into the plain of the Xanthus, advanced to meet him, and engaging with a great disadvantage in point of numbers, proved themselves valiant men. But, when they were defeated and enclosed within their city, they collected into the citadel their wives and children, with their property and slaves, and setting it on fire, burned it to the ground. When they had done this, and bound themselves by solemn oaths, all the Xanthians sallied forth and died in battle. Of the Lycians of the present day, who represent themselves to be Xanthians, the greater number, with the exception of eighty families, are strangers. These eighty families happened, on that occasion, to be from home ; and by that accident, survived. In this manner Harpagus got possession of Xanthus, and very nearly in the same way of Caunia ; for the Caunians generally imitated the Lycians.

177. Harpagus, as I have been saying, reduced southern Asia ; while Cyrus himself subdued the northern states, overturning every nation and sparing none. Of these events I shall omit the greater number, and record only those cases which presented the greatest difficulty, and are most memorable.

178. When Cyrus had effected the conquest of all the rest of the continent, he attacked the Assyrians. In Assyria there are many other important cities ; but, the most celebrated and powerful, and where the seat of government was fixed after the destruction of Nineveh, is Babylon, of which the following is a description : It stands on an extensive plain, and being square, measures on each front, one hundred and twenty stadia. These stadia amount to four hundred and eighty in the circumference of the whole city. Such is the extent of the city of Babylon ; and it was *adorned in a style unequalled by any other city with which*

we are acquainted. In the first place, a deep, wide moat, filled with water, encloses it all round ; and secondly, a wall fifty royal cubits in thickness, and two hundred in height—now, a royal cubit exceeds an ordinary cubit by three digits.

179. I should also state how the clay from the moat was consumed ; and, in what fashion the wall was raised. While excavating the moat, they formed bricks of the clay as it was thrown up ; and when they had a considerable number moulded, they baked them in kilns ; then, using warm asphalt for cement, and laying strata of reeds among the thirty lower courses of bricks, they first constructed the side walls of the moat, and afterwards the wall itself, by the same process. On the edges of the summit of the wall, they built ranges of single chambers facing each other, and left between these a space sufficient for turning a chariot and four. Round the circumference of the wall are set one hundred gates of solid brass, with posts and lintels of the same. About eight day's journey from Babylon, there stands another city, named Is ; where is also a small river of the same name, which falls into the Euphrates. This river Is brings down on its current, several masses of asphalt, which was conveyed thence for the wall of Babylon.

180. In this manner, then, was Babylon fortified ; and the city consists of two divisions : for, a river divides it in the middle, which is called Euphrates, and rises in Armenia ; and flowing with a deep, wide, and strong current, falls into the Red Sea. The wall, therefore, on each side meets the river at an angle, and an embankment of burnt bricks extends along each bank of the stream. The town itself, composed of houses three and four stories high, is intersected by straight streets, which are both transverse and perpendicular to the river. At the ends of the several streets by the river, small gates open on the banks. These are equal in number to the streets, are formed of brass, and give access to the river.

181. This wall forms the external defence ; but, there is also an inside wall, little inferior in strength to the other ; but narrower. In either division of the town, fortified buildings were erected. In the centre of one stood the palace, within a strong and extensive enclosure ; and, in the heart of the other, the brazen-door'd temple of Belus, which

lasted down to my time, and formed a square of two stadia. In the centre of the sacred enclosure, was built a strong tower, measuring a stadium in length and breadth, and on that another, on which was also raised a third, and so on, to the number of eight towers. An ascent to these was constructed outside, encircling all the towers; and, about half way up, a landing and seats to rest upon, where parties ascending may sit down and wait. On the highest tower there stands a large shrine; and in this shrine is laid a large couch richly covered, beside which is placed a golden table. No statue has ever been erected, nor does any human being pass the night here, except one woman, whom the God selects from the inhabitants; as the Chaldean priests of that Deity assert.

182. These same priests assert, what appears to me incredible, that the Deity comes in person to the temple, and reposes on the couch, in the same manner as the Egyptians report of Egyptian Thebes; for there, a woman passes the night in the temple of the Theban Jupiter; and both these women are said to avoid all intercourse with men. And as, at Patara in Lycia, the prophetess of the God—when he comes there; for the oracle is not perpetual—is shut up during the night in the temple.

183. There is also another shrine below, within the temple in Babylon, where a colossal golden statue of Jupiter is placed in a sitting posture, and a large golden table set beside him; and the dais and throne also are of gold. These have been made, according to the statement of the Chaldeans, of eight hundred talents of gold. There stands, outside the shrine, a golden altar; and there is also a second large altar, on which full grown victims are sacrificed; for sucklings alone may be offered on the golden altar. On the greater altar the Chaldæans consume annually a thousand talents' weight of frankincense, when they hold a festival in honour of this God. There was also, within that sacred area, at that time, a statue of solid gold twelve cubits high. I have never seen it, and merely repeat what is said by the Chaldæans. Darius the son of Hystaspes formed a design upon this statue, but never ventured to remove it. Xerxes, however, the son of Darius, removed it, and slew the priest for having forbidden him to disturb the statue. Such are the decorations of this temple, in *addition to which* there are also several private offerings.

184. In Babylon there were, as may be supposed, many other monarchs whom I shall commemorate in my history of Assyria, who decorated the walls and temples; and among the rest, two women. The first of these female sovereigns, whose name was Semiramis, preceded the other by five generations, and raised mounds upon the plain, which are curiosities; for before then, the river used to overflow all the plain.

185. The next queen who followed her, and was named Nitocris, was more ingenious than her predecessors; and, in the first instance, left memorials of herself, which I shall enumerate; and secondly, when she observed the Median empire becoming powerful and ambitious; and other cities—among which was Nineveh—reduced by them, she adopted every precaution in her power. She first changed the course of the Euphrates, which had previously flowed direct, and passed through the centre of the city, and by excavating canals higher up, made it so tortuous that it arrives thrice in its course at one and the same village of Assyria. The name of this village, at which the Euphrates touches, is Ardericca; and, even at present, travellers on their way from our sea to Babylon, when passing up the Euphrates, arrive at this same village three times, on three successive days. Such was the nature of the change which she effected, and she also raised on each bank of the river, a mound of surprising magnitude and elevation. At some distance above Babylon, she excavated a basin for a lake, extending it a considerable way from the stream, sinking it to the water level, and making its circumference four hundred and twenty stadia. The soil thrown up from this excavation she employed in raising the embankments; and, when the excavation was completed, she had stones brought, and built a parapet all round. Both these works she executed—the diversion of the river, and the excavation of the lake—in order that the river, turned into many windings may run more slowly; the voyage to Babylon become indirect; and, after the voyage, a long journey round the lake may follow. This was done in that part of the country, where the frontier-passes are, and the shortest road from Media; so that the Medes, thus excluded from intercourse, may acquire no knowledge of her affairs.

186. Such were the defences which she provided by

these deep excavations; and then proceeded to make the following additions. As the city consisted of two divisions, with the river intersecting them, it was necessary, under preceding sovereigns, that whoever would pass from one to the other should use a boat; and this, I should suppose, must have been troublesome; but this also she provided for, because, when she had dug the reservoir for the lake, she perpetuated this second memorial of the same work. She prepared large blocks of hewn stone, and when these were ready, and the place excavated, turning aside the whole current of the river into the hollowed space, as the original bed was drained by filling this, she lined the banks of the river within the city and the slips leading to the river from the wickets, with burnt bricks on the same plan with the walls. In the next place, she built a bridge nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones she had prepared, and clamped them with iron and lead. As soon as day dawned, she had rectangular planks laid across it, on which the Babylonians might cross over; but by night they used to remove the planks, to prevent their going across to rob each other. When the excavation became a lake filled by the river, and the bridge was finished, she restored the Euphrates to its former bed; and thus the lake, now becoming a marsh, proved to have been a useful work, at the same time that the citizens were accommodated with a bridge.

187. This same queen displayed her ingenuity in the following artifice. She built her own sepulchre over the most frequented gate of the city, on the summit of the gate-way, and had cut upon the tomb an inscription to the following effect: "Should any of the kings of Babylon, my successors, be distressed for money, let him open the sepulchre, and take what treasure he may need; but, unless he be in want, let him never open it; for it were better not." This sepulchre remained untouched until the crown descended to Darius. Now Darius thought it a hardship that he should not avail himself of this gate-way; and that, when treasure was deposited there, and inviting him, he should not take it. This gate was never used, because the dead body lay over the head of any that passed through; and on opening the sepulchre he found no money, but only the dead body, and the following inscription.

“Hadst thou not been insatiably avaricious, and meanly covetous, thou wouldst never have opened the chamber of the dead.”

188. Such is said to have been the character of this queen; and Cyrus was now preparing an expedition against the son of this lady, who bore the name of his father Labynetus, and the sceptre of Assyria. The great king takes the field with provisions from home carefully prepared, and cattle; and brings with him also the water of the river Choaspes, which flows by Susa, of which alone, and of no other river, the king drinks. This water taken from the Choaspes and boiled, a large number of four-wheeled waggons, drawn by mules, bring with him in silver vessels wherever he travels.

189. When Cyrus, on his way to Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, whose source is in the Matienian mountains, whence it flows through Dardania, and falls into another river, the Tigris, which runs by the city of Opis, and falls into the Red Sea. When Cryus was attempting the passage of this river Gyndes, which may be crossed in boats only, one of the sacred white horses wantonly entered the stream, and endeavoured to swim across, when it overwhelmed and swept him away. Cyrus, then, became deeply offended with the river for this presumption, and threatened to make it so weak that women may thenceforth walk through without wetting their knees. After this menace he abandoned his expedition against Babylon, and divided his army into two portions. When he had so divided them, he marked out with ropes one hundred and eighty canals on each bank of the river in all directions, and distributing his forces, ordered them to dig. By the industry of so large a host, his object was accomplished; but they lost the entire summer in the work.

190. When Cyrus had punished the river Gyndes, by dividing it among three hundred and sixty canals, and the following Spring opened, he then pursued his march to Babylon. The Babylonians took the field, and awaited him; but when he approached the city, they engaged and being defeated, were confined within their walls. Knowing, as they did, the restless ambition of Cyrus on former occasions, and seeing that he attacked all nations indiscriminately, they laid in a store of provisions for several years; and in this position attached no importance to a siege;

but, when a considerable time had elapsed, and his operations made no progress, Cyrus was perplexed. At length, however, either on the suggestion of some other individual, to remove his difficulty, or his own perception of the course to be taken, he devised the following expedient.

191. Stationing the main body of his army at the influx of the river, where it enters the city, and another party below the city, where the stream issues from the town ; he commanded the soldiers, as soon as they should find the stream fordable, to enter the city at these points ; and having made these orders and arrangements, he withdrew, in person, with the less effective portion of his forces. Arriving at the lake, he followed the example of the queen on the river and the lake ; for, by admitting the river through the canal into the lake, which had now become a swamp, he rendered its original bed fordable, by the sinking of the water. When this was effected, the Persians, who had been stationed, for that purpose, by the stream, on finding the water of the Euphrates subside nearly to the middle of a man's leg, then entered Babylon. If the Babylonians, however, had previously suspected, or been informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, they would not have permitted the Persians to enter the city without utterly destroying them ; for, by closing all the wickets leading to the river, and ascending the parapets along the banks, they might have enclosed them as in a net ; but, as it was, the Persians came upon them by surprise ; and, such was the extent of the city, as stated by parties who have resided there, that when the inhabitants of the remote quarters were made prisoners, those of the centre of the city had no information of their capture ; but—as it happened to be a festival—were dancing and revelling at the time ; until they received unequivocal intelligence.

192. Thus was Babylon, for the first time, taken ; and the extent of the Babylonian power I can prove by other evidences, and especially the following : All the territory of the dominions of the great king is divided into districts, for maintaining himself and his army, exclusively of the regular tribute. Now, as there are twelve months in the year, the Babylonian district maintains him for four *months*, and the rest of Asia during the remaining eight ; *so that Assyria is virtually one-third of all Asia ; and the*

vicerealty of this region, which the Persians call a satrapy, is the most valuable of all ; yielding as it did, an artabé of silver every day to Tritantæchmes, the son of Artabazus, who governed this district as the king's deputy. The artabé is a Persian measure, containing three Attic choenices more than the Attic medimmus. He kept also a private stud, exclusive of the cavalry horses, of eight hundred horses and sixteen thousand mares : a horse to every twenty mares. He kept also such a number of Indian dogs, that four large villages on the plain, were exempted from all other impost, and appointed to feed them. Such were the emoluments of the governor of Assyria.

193. The soil of Assyria receives little moisture from rain, and yet, this nourishes the root of the corn ; but the stalk, when it grows up, is watered from the river, and the corn is produced, not as in Ægypt, by an inundation of the river over the plains, but by the hand and engines ; for all the Babylonian territory, like the Ægyptian, is intersected by canals ; and the largest of these is navigable, running in the direction of the winter sun-rise, and falls from the Euphrates into another river, the Tigris, on which the city of Nineveh stood. This territory is the most productive, of all that we know, in yielding crops of corn ; but, does not at all pretend to fruitfulness in trees, either figs, vines, or olives. It is so fertile, however, in corn crops, that it yields, on an average, two hundred fold ; and, when producing most abundantly, three hundred fold. The blade of the wheat and barley in this country grows to the full breadth of four digits ; and, though I know and remember what size the plant of the millet and sesame attains, I shall not mention it ; knowing, as I do, that to such as have never visited the Babylonian territory, even the statements I have already made of its produce, will appear incredible. They use no oil, but such as they make from the sesame. They have palm trees growing everywhere on the plain, most of which bear fruit, from which they manufacture bread, wine, and honey. These they cultivate as fig-trees, both in other particulars, and in tying the fruit of the male palm, as the Greeks call it, upon those which bear dates, so that the insect may enter the date, and assist its maturity ;

and so, the fruit may not fall off: for the male trees, like the wild fig-tree, have insects in the fruit.

194. The most wonderful sight in this country, next to the city, is what I am now proceeding to describe. Their boats, that pass down the river to Babylon, are circular, and all made of leather. For, after they cut the ribs from the willows that grow in Armenia, above Assyria; they cover them externally with hides which are water-tight, to serve as a bottom; neither expanding the stern, nor closing the prow; but making them circular like a shield; and then lining the boat all through with reeds, and lading it with a cargo, they launch it down the river. They bring down generally casks of date-wine. They are steered, each by two paddles, and two men standing upright, one of whom pulls his paddle to him, while the other pushes his from him. Some of these boats are made of considerable size, and others smaller. The largest of them take freights of five thousand talents. Each boat takes a live ass on board; and the larger ones, several. Accordingly, when they sail down to Babylon and dispose of their cargo, they sell the ribs and the reeds by auction; and loading the asses with the hides, return by land to Armenia; for it would be impossible, from the strength of the current, to sail up the river. For this reason, they build their boats of leather, instead of wood. When they return to Armenia with their asses, they build other boats in the same style.

195. The fashion of their boats is such as I have described, and the dress they wear is the following: a linen tunic extending to the feet, over which they wear another garment of wool, and outside that a short white cloak. They wear shoes peculiar to the country, but resembling Bœotian buskins. They wear long hair, and encircle their heads with turbans; and anoint the whole body with perfumes. Each individual wears a signet-ring, and a staff artificially decorated. Each staff has carved upon it a pomegranate, or a rose, or a lily, or an eagle, or some other figure; for it is not customary to bear a staff without some device. Such are their fashions with respect to dress.

196. The following social institutions are established *among them*, of which this is the most judicious in my

opinion, and which, I understand, the Illyrian Heneti also adopt. In every village, the following ceremony takes place annually. When they have brought together, and collected into one place, such of the young women as have attained a marriageable age, a company of men gathers round them, and an auctioneer stands up, and sells them one by one, commencing with the most beautiful of the lot. Then, as soon as she is disposed of, and brings a high price, he sets up the next in beauty after her. They were sold on condition of being married; and as many of the rich Babylonians as were disposed to marry used to bid against each other, and purchase the most beautiful; while such of the lower class as required wives, and were not fastidious with respect to beauty, used to receive money with the plainer girls. For, when the auctioneer had concluded the sale of the most beautiful, he used to set up the ugliest among them, or one who was deformed, and offer her to whoever may be satisfied to take her with the smallest portion, until she was knocked down to the lowest bidder. The money for this purpose was raised by the sale of the beauties; and in this way, the beautiful portioned off the plain and the deformed. Nobody was permitted to give his daughter in marriage at his own discretion, nor to bring home a girl whom he had purchased; but to remove her only on giving security that he would marry her. If they should happen to disagree, it was customary to refund the money. It was also permitted that one may come to purchase from another village. This was the most excellent of their institutions, but has not been perpetuated; and they have recently established another regulation to prevent their ill-treating the women, or removing them to another city. For since they have been conquered, and oppressed, and beggared, all the lower class have been driven by poverty to prostitute their daughters.

197. There was also established among them another custom, next in wisdom to the foregoing:—They bring out the sick into the market-place—for they have no physicians—and they who pass by prescribe for the patient, in case any of them may have himself suffered, or seen any other afflicted with the same disease; and the passers-by recommend and prescribe those remedies by the use of which they may have themselves escaped, or known any

other to escape the same ailment. They consider it improper to pass on without enquiring what disease he suffers.

198. Their process of embalming is effected with honey; and their funeral dirges are similar to those of the Ægyptians. Whenever a Babylonian has intercourse with his wife, he sits over burning incense, while his wife does the same in a separate apartment; and in the morning they both perform ablutions: for they will touch no vessel until they bathe. And this is a ceremony which the Arabs also perform.

199. The most reprehensible of the Babylonian customs is the following:—Every native woman is obliged, once in her life, to sit in the temple of Venus, and have intercourse with a strange man. Many of them, however, who are vain of their wealth, and will not therefore condescend to associate with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages, and take their stand with a numerous train of attendants. The greater number proceed in the following manner:—A crowd of women take their seats in the sacred area of Venus, wearing crowns of cords upon their heads. Some are arriving, as others depart. There are avenues marked by ropes in all directions through the women, where strangers pass along to make their choice: and once a woman takes her place there, she never returns home until some stranger throws a piece of silver into her lap, and has intercourse with her outside the temple. In doing so, he must use these words—“I invoke Venus Mylitta for thee:” for the Assyrians call Venus, Mylitta. The silver may be of any amount, because she cannot refuse it. To do so would be unlawful, for that money is consecrated. She accompanies the first who makes an offering, and rejects none; and after having intercourse, and fulfilling her obligations to the Goddess, she returns home; and thenceforth for any sum you may offer you cannot have her. Such as are gifted with beauty and symmetry are soon set free, while they who are deformed wait a long time without being able to fulfil the law. Some of them wait for three or four years. A similar custom prevails in some parts of Cyprus.

200. *These are the customs established among the Babylonians; and there are three tribes of them who live exclusively upon fish, which, when they catch and dry in the sun, they dress in the following manner. They place them in*

a mortar, and pounding with a pestle, sift them through linen; and then, as they severally please, either knead them into cakes, or bake them like bread.

201. When this people had been reduced by Cyrus, he desired to attach the Massagetæ to his empire. This nation also is represented as great and powerful, and was situated toward the East and the sunrise, beyond the river Araxes, and opposite the Issedonians. There are some authorities, who assert that this nation is Scythian.

202. The Araxes is variously stated to be greater and less than the Ister. They say that it contains several islands nearly as extensive as Lesbos, the inhabitants of which subsist, during the summer, on various species of roots, which they dig from the ground; while the ripe fruits, found on the trees, are stored up for provisions on which they live during the winter. They add that they have discovered the properties of another tree producing fruit of such a nature, that when they meet in companies, and kindle a fire, they sit round in a circle, and cast it into the flame; and, that by inhaling the aroma of the fruit so thrown in, they become intoxicated by the vapour, as the Greeks are by wine; and as more fruit is burned, they became more intoxicated, untill they stand up to dance and are transported even to sing. Such are said to be their convivial habits. The river Araxes rises among the Matieni, where the source of the Gyndes also flows—which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty canals—It issues from forty springs, all of which, except one, lose themselves in marshes and swamps; and these, they say, are inhabited by men who live upon raw fish, and habitually clothe themselves in the skins of sea calves. This one, however, of the sources of the Araxes flows unimpeded to the Caspian Sea; and the Caspian Sea is isolated, and communicates with no other. For all that sea which the Greeks navigate, and that outside the pillars, which is known as the Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one.

203. The Caspian Sea, on the contrary, is isolated and distinct, measuring in length fifteen days of a rowing voyage; and in breadth, at its widest part, eight days. The Caucasus, which is of all mountains, the largest in bulk, and the loftiest in height, lies along the Western shore of this sea, and contains within it many and various

tribes, subsisting principally on the produce of the wild forest. Trees are said to grow here, producing leaves of such a quality, that by bruising them in the hand, and steeping them in water, they can paint animal figures on their garments, which can never be washed out, but grow old with the wool, as if they had been originally woven into it. It is also said that the sexual intercourse of these people, like that of cattle, takes place openly.

204. The Caucasus, as I have observed, forms the Western shore of this sea called the Caspian; while toward the East and the rising sun, there spreads an extensive plain, boundless to the view. Of this immense plain the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus was meditating an expedition, occupy the most considerable portion. The motives which encouraged and prompted him to this were many and strong: in the first place, his birth, which he fancied was more than human; and secondly, the success which had attended him in his wars; for, where Cyrus had turned his arms, it was impossible for that nation to escape.

205. The Queen of the Massagetæ was a woman whose husband was dead, and whose name was Tomyris. Cyrus sent to her, ostensibly to solicit her hand, and offering to make her his queen; but Tomyris, aware that it was not her hand, but the sovereignty of the Massagetæ, for which he sued, refused an audience. Cyrus, then, finding his artifice unsuccessful, marched to the Araxes, and undisguisedly commenced hostilities against the Massagetæ, throwing bridges across the river, for the passage of his troops; and erecting turrets on the boats in which he crossed the stream.

206. While he was engaged in these operations, Tomyris sent a herald with the following message: "King of the Medes, desist from the purpose which you so ardently pursue; for you cannot know if its accomplishment will be advantageous. Desist, and govern your own dominions, and be content to see me governing mine. But, as you will not consent to adopt this advice, but prefer anything to peace; if you are anxious to meet the Massagetæ, come, *abandon the labour which you spend upon the construction of a bridge, and cross over into our territory, while we retire three days march from the river, or, if you prefer admitting us into your country, do you likewise.*" When

Cyrus heard this message, he convened the chiefs of the Persians, and when he had assembled them, laid the case before them, and requested their advice, as to which alternative he should choose. Their opinions were unanimous in advising him to admit Tomyris and her army into his territory.

207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present and disapproved of this opinion, proposed a suggestion opposite to that which had been submitted, in the following words:—
“Sire, I formerly promised that, as Jupiter surrendered me to your power, I would avert, to the utmost of my power, whatever mischief I may see menacing your house; for, my own misfortunes, and they were heavy, have been lessons to me. If you fancy that you are immortal, and lead an army equally so, there can be no object in my declaring my sentiments; but, if you confess that you are but a man, and command other mortals; observe this first, that there is a wheel in the affairs of men, which, as it revolves, does not permit the same individual to be uniformly fortunate. Now, therefore, I hold an opinion respecting the question under consideration, totally different from theirs; for, if we are to admit the enemy into our territory, the danger involved will be this. If you are defeated, you forfeit, at the same time, all your empire; for it is obvious that the victorious Massagetæ will not retreat, but advance upon your dominions; and, in case you succeed, your victory cannot be so decisive, as if, after passing into their country, and conquering the Massagetæ, you pursued them in their flight; for, I shall contrast this with the other alternative of your defeating the enemy, and advancing direct upon the dominions of Tomyris. And, independently of the foregoing reason, it would be ignominious and intolerable, that Cyrus the son of Cambyzes should retreat into his dominions before a woman. As the matter stands, therefore, it is my opinion, that we should cross over and advance as far as they retire; and then endeavour by the following expedient, to defeat them. The Massagetæ are, as I am informed, unacquainted with Persian luxuries, and ignorant of our refinements; we should therefore cut up and dress an unreserved abundance of cattle, and prepare in our camp a banquet for these men, with a liberal allowance of strong wine and delicacies of every description; and having done this, and leaving there the least effective portion of your army, retire with the remainder toward the river; for.

am not mistaken, when they see all these luxuries, they will be attracted by them, and then we shall be left an opportunity of glorious achievements."

208. These were the conflicting opinions; and Cyrus rejecting the former and adopting that of Crœsus, sent Tomyris a notice to retire, as he was about to cross over to her side, when she accordingly withdrew, as she had originally promised. Cyrus, then, committing Crœsus to the hands of his son Cambyses, to whom he delegated his crown, and having strictly enjoined him to respect and honour him, in case the expedition against the Massagetæ should fail—having so charged him, and sent them both into Persia, he crossed the river with his army.

209. After he had crossed the Araxes, when night came on, and he was sleeping in the country of the Massagetæ, he saw the following vision. He fancied in his sleep, that he beheld the eldest son of Hystaspes with wings upon his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with one, and with the other, Europe. Now the eldest son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames, one of the Achæmenidæ, was Darius, then about twenty years of age, and he had remained in Persia, for he had not yet attained the military age. Cyrus therefore, when he awoke, reflected upon his dream, and, as he thought the vision was of serious import, summoning Hystaspes, and taking him aside, he said: "Hystaspes, your son has been convicted of plotting against me, and my sovereignty. I shall explain to you how I have ascertained this. The Gods protect me, and forewarn me of all coming events; and therefore, last night I saw in my sleep your eldest son with wings upon his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with one, and Europe with the other. It is impossible then, from this vision, but that he is plotting against me. Return, therefore, with all speed, into Persia, and fail not, when I return after conquering this country, to bring him before me for examination."

210. Cyrus spoke thus under the impression that Darius was meditating treason, while the Deity was really warning him, that he was to die there, and the empire to descend to Darius. Hystaspes, therefore, made the following reply. "May it never be, Sire, that any Persian should plot against you, and, if it be so, may he, that moment, perish! *you, who have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom, and made them rulers instead of subjects. And since a vision has shewn you that my son is plotting a revolution*

against you, I surrender him to be dealt with at your pleasure." When Hystaspes had returned this answer, he crossed the Araxes, and departed to Persia, to keep his son in custody for Cyrus, while Cyrus, advancing a days journey beyond the Araxes, proceeded to execute the advice of Crœsus.

211. When Cyrus and the effective portion of the Persian army, had retired back to the Araxes, a third division of the army of the Massagetæ advanced, and put to the sword, after a feeble resistance, the remaining portion of the army of Cyrus. Then, finding a banquet prepared, they sat down, when they had slain their enemies, and feasted, and surfeited with food and wine, they fell asleep. The Persians, in the mean time, suddenly returning, put many of them to death, and made prisoners of the greater number, including the son of Queen Tomyris, the leader of the Massagetæ, whose name was Spargapises.

212. When she learned the fate of her son and the army, she sent a herald to Cyrus with the following message: "Cyrus, the blood-thirsty! be not elated by this present event, since it was by the fruit of the vine, with which you surfeit yourselves, and become so insane, that, as it sinks into your bodies, insulting words float upon your tongues—it was by such a poison, that you ensnared and conquered my son, and not by valour in the field. Now, therefore, listen to my prudent advice: restore my son, and retire from my territory, unpunished for having insulted a third of the army of the Massagetæ. If you will not, then I swear by the Sun, the lord of the Massagetæ, that, blood-thirsty though you be, I shall glut you with blood."

213. To this message Cyrus gave no heed. But Spargapises, the son of Queen Tomyris, when his intoxication departed, and he found in what disgrace he was involved, besought Cyrus that he may be released from his bonds; but, when he obtained his request, and was set at liberty to use his hands, he slew himself. Such was his death; but, Tomyris, finding that Cyrus disregarded her remonstrance, collected all her forces, and met him in the field.

214. Of all battles ever fought between foreign nations, *I believe this to have been the most desperate, and these, as far as I can learn, were the events. It is stated that they first shot arrows at each other from a distance, and when their missiles were exhausted, they engaged in close*

fight with spears and swords, and thus, for a long time they maintained the conflict, and neither party thought of yielding. At length, however, the Massagetæ prevailed; a considerable portion of the Persian army were slain on the field, and Cyrus himself fell, after a reign of twenty-nine years. Then Tomyris, filling a skin with human blood, sought for the body of Cyrus among the Persian dead, and when she had found it, plunging the head into the skin, and mocking the dead body, said: "Thou hast ruined me, alive and all victorious as I am in battle, for thou hast ensnared my son; but, I shall now, as I threatened, glut thee with blood." Of the many accounts of the death of Cyrus, which have been transmitted, this, which I have repeated, is the most credible.

215. In their costume and conventionalities, the Massagetæ resemble the Scythians. They are both cavalry and infantry—for they have some of either—archers and spearmen, and are accustomed to wear battle axes. They use gold and brass for all purposes; but for lances, arrow-heads, and battle axes, brass exclusively. They decorate their helmets, belts, and arm-pieces with gold; the breasts of their horses also, they encase in brazen corselets; but the reins, bits, and other harness are mounted with gold. They use no steel or silver for any purpose, for they find none in their country, while gold and brass are abundant.

216. The customs which they practise are these: each man marries one wife, and these they treat as common property, for, what the Greeks attribute to the Scythians, is done not by the Scythians, but the Massagetæ. When a Massagetæ desires intercourse with a woman, he hangs his quiver in front of his waggon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. No definite term of life is prescribed, except that when one attains a very advanced age, all his relatives assemble and sacrifice him, together with a number of cattle, when they boil the flesh, and make a feast of it. This they regard as the happiest death, but, they do not eat those who die of disease, but bury them in the earth, and consider it a misfortune that they did not live to be sacrificed. They raise no crops, but live upon *cattle and fish*, and these are supplied in abundance by the *Araxes*. They live also upon milk. The Sun is the only *Deity* whom they worship, and to him they sacrifice horses. The meaning of this worship is, that to the swiftest of all *the Gods*, they offer the swiftest of all creatures.

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